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The
**South Atlantic
Quarterly**

EDITED BY
W. H. GLASSON AND W. P. FEW

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The Sewanee Review

QUARTERLY

EDITED BY JOHN M. McBRYDE, JR.

FOUNDED in 1892, *The Sewanee Review* has steadily and consistently maintained its policy, announced in the first issue, of being a serious literary and critical journal. Avoiding all temptation to court wider popularity through mere timeliness in its articles, it has ever sought to serve as a repository of the literary essay and the critical review.

For the past ten years the magazine has drawn its contributions from a wide extent of country, representing thirty-eight states of the Union as well as England and Japan. New York leads with a total of thirty-three contributions out of a total of two hundred and sixty-four; but nearly forty-five per cent have come from the South, so that the magazine has contributed its share towards helping to encourage and develop independence of thought, to mould public opinion, to raise the standards of taste and literary expression, and to reflect the best tendencies in the culture and the life of the Southern people. Though not unnaturally a large majority of the contributors have come from the colleges, *The Review* has not been merely an academic organ, but has covered a broad field of literature, art, history, economics, theology, and current questions, and has always tried to approach these subjects in a dignified manner, free from prejudice and undue partisanship.

The Sewanee Review is conducted by members of the Faculties of the University of the South, Sewanee, Tennessee, but has no official connection with the University.

The South Atlantic Quarterly

The Spirit of Youth in Arms

WALTER GRAHAM
Western Reserve University

When the sinister shadow of Teuton ambition fell across the sunshine and beauty of the world, men and women who had been benignly dreaming about universal brotherhood could see nothing but darkness in the human outlook. Was this the fine fruit of all the centuries of effort and culture? The apostasy of a great people, renowned for the very things which make life worth living and the soul of man reach upward, was a powerful argument to prove the deterioration of human nature. Faith in all that was good seemed slipping away. Stunned by the German policy of deliberate frightfulness, many people for a time found it impossible to perceive in the future anything but disaster. Yet the very blankness of despair was the surest ground of hope. Sharp reactions against the horror and inhumanity of war were the best evidences of how far the race really had advanced. Prodigious possibilities gleamed in the way the world met the crisis and the ghastly revelation.

Brighter than everything else was the spirit with which Youth threw itself into the struggle. From farm and factory and school the young men of nations went forth to match themselves with this evil power that was bestriding the world like a colossus.

Greybeards plotted. They were sad.
Death was in their wrinkled eyes.
At their tables—with their maps,
Plans and calculations, wise
They all seemed: for well they knew
How ungrudgingly youth dies.

From city and countryside they marched, from rugged Yorkshire and smiling Picardy, from London and Paris and Rome, millions of them—ungrudgingly. Before the war, calumniators of human nature called young England decadent and youthful France degenerate. They were hailing American boys with the same terms. But the greybeards who plotted and planned were wiser. They knew the heart of Youth. They had seen the divine fire and enthusiasm of the boy brought out by war after war. They had seen young men of other generations seizing the mighty Venture with a passionate grip, grappling with the monster, Death, each like a new Hercules, unselfishly, in behalf of some ideal Alcestis. When war was declared in August, 1914, grey-haired soldiers smiled sadly to hear the cheers of the boys in Paris. The young men cheered, but the women wept. Quick feminine intuition could see only the skeleton beneath the glittering armor of Mars. But to Youth in arms, war was only the great game of life intensified,—it was opportunity, greatly to dare and to die.

In the now famous "Kitchener's Mob" were many boys to whom, a few months before, war had been a vague concept, a dim, incredible aspect of history—lurid and interesting to read about, but in no way concerned with actual life. These young men, thrown suddenly into bitter conflict with a foe superior in numbers, training, accouterment, and direction—this mob of extemporized soldiers, buffeted by reverse after reverse, victims of the blunders of their leaders—showed immediately a power of unostentatious heroism and a depth of moral strength undreamed of by the most sanguine observers. The younger they were, the more daring. Both in action and under the trying conditions of trench life, their gallantry was revealed. As recruits, they were raw enough while receiving hasty training in England, but in Flanders they became quickly transformed into veterans. The stress of combat made them soldiers indeed. Of these youths, one of their number, a "Student in Arms," has written an undying tribute. "With a gay heart they gave their greatest gift, and with a smile to think that after all they had anything to give that was of value." Their boyish bonhomie prevailed even through the

gates of death. They "looked on danger with the eyes of laughter." Degeneration, if it had ever tainted the souls of these young men, was arrested and purged away. Hunger, thirst, cold, rain, suffering and death, brought them spiritual opportunity.

Instances of sacrifice even more altruistic because without the patriotic motive, are supplied abundantly by the youths of the Foreign Legion. A Massachusetts boy, hardly out of his teens, told American newspapers the story of scores of young men. He, like his comrades, left the security of home for unknown perils in what most of us at that time considered another's quarrel. "No sacrifice is too great for an American to make for France," was his simple comment on his own and others' bravery. Of James Paul, another Legionnaire, killed in action in Champagne, his trench companions said, "He was happiest where the bullets were thickest." The strain and suspense of shell-fire, the discomforts of life in the mud and slime of advanced positions "could never wipe out Paul's smile." Other examples of personal bravery and fortitude similar to these are furnished by the aerial service in France. Three are outstanding, because of the adroit tributes of the French to the gallant young men who were killed in action. James McConnell, Edmond Genet, and Ronald Hoskier, were officers in Escadrille 124. All three fell fighting enemy airplanes. McConnell said often to his friends, "So much the better if I die, since it is for France." Genet's last words were, "*Vive la France toujours!*" These youths did not wait for the United States to declare war, before making their personal protest against terror and inhumanity. They rode forth like St. George of old to strike a blow for truth and against oppression. Like far too many other champions they fell before the dragon, the "hideous Thing,"—but dead in Flanders fields they yet live and speak to their countrymen in the sacrifice they made and the manner of that sacrifice.

The true spirit of Youth in war time is nowhere better expressed than in the letters and diaries of young men at the front. A volume of correspondence, published a few months ago, from the pen of a young lieutenant in the Canadian army, is fittingly termed "a book of inspiration." The author, a

famous novelist and—before the war—a resident of this country, fills his letters with the tonic of noble purpose and magnificent youthful recklessness. Those which have been published were written from the dug-outs on the Somme front in the intervals of artillery fire, or under other equally trying conditions. The writer's touch is at once light-hearted and serious. Nothing can be more impressive than the morale of the soldiers he describes, enduring unthinkable hardships and meeting physical exigencies that have no precedent. The secret of their fortitude, he says, is in the phrase "Carry On!" "It sends the mercury of one's optimism rising" to see how they meet death in battle. All his own hardships—he explains while awaiting orders to go to the firing line—"are fully compensated by the winged sense of exaltation one has. Life has suddenly become effective and worthy by reason of its carelessness of death." And again he says, "Every man I have met out here has the amazing guts to wear his crown of thorns as though it were a cap-and-bells." These illuminating statements, from one who has wooed death many times in battle, recall Stevenson's view in *Aes Triplex*. Youth does not cling devotedly to the abstract idea of life—some philosophers to the contrary notwithstanding. Young men who have courted death in every one of their sports take the greater risk of the battlefield with the philosophy of the game. They are not to be scared by the subversive accident. Much less are they to be appalled by any specter while they are standing tip-toe upon the highest summit of feeling, every spiritual fiber annealed into consummate resolve.

But this spirit is not confined to the youth of any one nation. The field-diaries of young French soldiers show how readily the "radiant boys" of that republic could consent to die. One line seems to express the spirit of all. It is from the pen of Antoin Boisson, who died for his country, at the age of eighteen. "Loyalty to the flag, love of country, respect for the given word, the sense of honor—these, for me, are no hollow, meaningless phrases; they ring like a bugle call in my young heart, and for them, when the moment comes, I shall be able to make the supreme sacrifice." Hear the words of a young Canadian lieutenant who crossed the seas to fight

for England,—“It matters not when you die, but how.” Read the same message in the letter of the youthful English lad, Lieut. E. L. Townsend, to his mother, written as he was about to die:

We shall live forever in the results of our efforts. We shall live as those who by their sacrifice won the great war. Our spirits and our memories shall endure in the proud possession Britain shall hold in the future. The measure of life is not its span, but the use made of it. I did not make much use of my life before the war, but I think I have done so now.

Alan Seeger, our own countryman, whose death in “No Man’s Land,” at the age of barely twenty-eight years, gave his brave life and his poetry a meaning that under other circumstances they would not have had, is another splendid example. Moreover, Seeger went to war, not protect his native land, but to fight for honor and liberty in the earth. His was the divine spirit of youth impelled by a worthy, great cause. Hazlitt, who said the thought of death “damps the enthusiasm of youth new flushed with hope and pleasure,” and declared that the young cast the comfortless thought as far as possible from them, should have lived a century later and read the letters of Seeger to his mother. Poorly did Hazlitt know the spirit of youth in arms. A month before he fell, the young soldier wrote:

You must not be anxious about my not coming back. . . . If I should not, you must be proud like the Spartan mother. There would be nothing to regret, for I could not have done otherwise than I did, and I think I could not have done better. Death is nothing terrible after all. It may mean something even more wonderful than life. It cannot possibly mean anything worse to the good soldier. . . . I have always had a passion to play the biggest part within my reach, and it is really in a sense a supreme success to be allowed to play this. If I do not come out, I will share the good fortune of those who disappear at the pinnacle of their careers.

Such sentences as these from the participants in our world war give the lie to Hazlitt’s quasi-oracular utterances about youth and the thought of death. The spirit of youth in arms is the same in all lands, yesterday and today. It is the same in America as in England and France. There, the spirit has

been refined and revealed by the white heat of actual conflict. Here, it is for the most part latent, but every day becoming more obvious.

The soldier-authors of such impressive letters are no more interesting than the soldier-poets. Seeger was both, and the personal and intimate expressions contained in his letters were supplemented by the more general sentiments in his poetry. The most striking war poem he wrote is evidence that certainty of death cannot daunt the true soldier youth.

But I've a rendezvous with death
At midnight in some flaming town,
When spring trips north again this year,
And I to my pledged word am true,
I shall not fail that rendezvous.

In these lines our chief American representative among the many poets in English who have "gone West"—as the soldiers say—gave eloquent refutation to that famous dictum, "No young man believes he shall ever die."

Yet Seeger's noble sentiments are only echoes of the utterances that have come to us from the hearts of young English poets in arms, from the time the first expeditionary force set foot in Belgium to the present day. One hundred poets in active service, most of them young officers, have written excellent verse in English. Before the war they were university men. Their war poetry has been published from time to time in periodicals, anthologies, and small personal volumes, and it is much more than interesting. It is spiritually significant. That it shows haste, and that it is not great or finished poetry, must be admitted. Much of it is immature, for nearly all the authors are very young men. But sincerity and emotional power make up for any lack in technical skill. Through it all breathes the same indomitable spirit of Youth militant, Youth going forth to do battle in the full splendor of unsullied and noble ideals. No less than a third of the poets, some forty-five altogether, have met the death about which they sang so intimately and bravely. May the manner of their passing set the seal of immortality upon their works. The war made them poets; the war has taken away what it made. We cannot be wholly reconciled to the loss of so much youth and prom-

ise, although we must recognize the fact that if this deep experience had not inspired them, their voices might never have been heard. Almost without exception, their most memorable poems are about certain personal aspects of the grim strife, or are rare expressions of the spirit of this new poet-soldier, the twentieth century knight, face to face with death. The finest of them all is generally conceded to be Brooke's sonnet beginning "If I should die, think only this of me,"—a poem now familiar to the readers of this essay. The most pertinent utterance of this youth, however, and the best expression of Youth's greeting to the Great Hazard, is the ardent

Now, God be thanked who has matched us with this hour
And caught our youth, and wakened us from sleeping!

A few months after he wrote these lines, Brooke died on a hospital ship in the Aegean sea, and dying, made us—to use his own words—a rarer gift than gold.

Brooke's cordial welcome to the invigorating experience of war is probably the best poetic expression of this youthful attitude. But the underlying idea is found in a great many verses of the poet-soldiers, in language that is far from unimpressive.

Cast away regret and rue,
Think what you are marching to,

was the message of Capt. Charles Hamilton Sorley, who gave his life in action in France on October 13, 1915, at the age of only twenty years. Again, he voiced the feeling of doughty Youth in lines that have a delightfully boyish abandon:

And let me stand so and defy them all.
The martyr's exultation leaps in me,
And I am joyous, joyous!

Another, who was inspired by a slightly different shade of the same feeling, was "Edward Melbourne." Just before the Somme advance which was fatal to him, he wrote his splendid and resolute *Before Action*. His lines lack the resilient feeling of Sorley's, but there is no element of timorousness in the concluding prayer—

By all delights that I shall miss,
Help me to die, O Lord.

Several other poet-soldiers who have fallen left memorable expressions of a similar spirit.

My day was happy—and perchance
The coming night is full of stars,

was the quiet conviction of Captain Richard Dennys, who was killed at the Somme. "If I should fall, grieve not that one so weak and poor as I should die," wrote Rifleman S. Donald Cox in *To My Mother*, but say

I too had a son;
He died for England's sake!

Lieutenant E. A. Mackintosh, of the Seaforth Highlanders, before his death in action, last November, declared

If I die tomorrow
I shall go happily.
With the flush of battle on my face
I shall walk with an eager pace
The road I cannot see.

While Francis Ledwidge, the inspired peasant of Ireland, whose heroic passing brought greater notice than even Lord Dunsany could secure for him, sang

A keen-edged sword, a soldier's heart
Is greater than a poet's art.
And greater than a poet's fame,
A little grave without a name.

But perhaps the most interesting commentary on the spirit of youth in arms came from the late Corporal John William Street. His "trench poems" were written at the front, where life was so busy that he had little time to polish or revise. In regard to them, he said

We soldiers have our views of life to express, though the boom of death is in our ears. We try to convey something of what we feel in this great conflict to those who think of us, and sometimes, alas! mourn our loss. We desire to let them know that in the midst of the keenest sadness for the joy of life we leave behind, we go to meet death grim-lipped, clear-eyed, and resolute-hearted.

In Street's sonnet entitled *Youth's Consecration* he expressed

more clearly than anywhere else in contemporary verse this attitude of Youth. He wrote

Lovers of life, we pledge thee liberty
And go to death calmly, triumphantly!

And again

Go tell Death
He cannot with life's vast uncertainties
Affright the heart of Youth! For Youth cometh
With flush of impulse, passion to defeat,
Undaunted purpose, vision clear descried.

In submitting these poems to an English periodical, he wrote, "They express not only my feelings but the feelings of thousands of others."

England, richer in nothing than in her poetry, may well be proud of her dead and living soldier-singers. For a century Germany has loved to honor her Theodore Körner, the twenty-two-years-old poet who died fighting for the cause of liberty. Italy had her poet-patriot, Goffredo Mameli, who fell in 1849 at the age of twenty-one, while Hungary blesses the memory of a youthful Petöfi, lost the same year. But whereas the wars of the past have yielded us the names of a few such men indelibly associated with the cause of freedom, the great war will furnish a hundred writing in English alone, who are expressing the intrepid spirit of Youth in verse, while they continue to take a soldier's part in the "work to be done and the righting of terrible wrongs."

To the poets is granted a freer utterance of emotions that thousands are feeling. But many a mute, inglorious Milton has gone "over the top," his heart bursting with the joy of high emprise. Many a one has had his exaltation suddenly quenched by machine gun fire, perhaps, in the supremest moment of his soul's existence. Shall we pity him or shall we envy the good fortune of those who pass "at the pinnacle of their careers?" Weep the loss of youthful worth and beauty, we may, but it wrongs the gallant dead to give them pity, who went out of life at the topmost summit of spiritual experience. For such there was no bathos, no anti-climax of emotion, no depressing aftermath. Pity might better be reserved for those who have never felt the burning moment break—to

use the words of Grenfell—whose lives will fade out in cool indifference to issues of prodigious moment. Youth wants no pity. Youth, typified by Seeger, asks only the chance to play the biggest part within its reach. And the great war for Democracy is offering young men of the nation occasion and service which make all opportunities of the past seem trivial in comparison.

Today youth in America is on trial. Some are fearing it will not match itself with the hour. Our newspapers have given ridiculously disproportionate space to the slacker and to the voicings of radical young men at various institutions of learning. One would think to read the press a few months ago, that the American colleges and universities were hotbeds of anarchy and pacific sedition. The truth is, however, that no class needs less vindication than college men. The dash and courage with which they go into war make it more necessary to curb their enthusiasm than to incite it. Their patriotic energy needs to be well directed by older heads. It may be that the slacker and objector make better stories for the evening paper than the true patriot. But for one of the former there are many of the latter. We have taken altogether too much notice of a few misguided students, who, in order to obtain publicity which they do not merit and could not in any worthy way have secured, have not only branded themselves as moral cowards, but have been able to fix the stigma upon the educated youths of our land.

As it is with college, so it is with the country. For one slacker there are a thousand patriots. The youths of America need no vindication. If our young men are slow about enlisting, it is because the past three years of world war have made them poignantly aware of what they undertake, and because they knew from the first that a selective draft was to be made and believed the raising of an army was in the hands of wise men who would call for them at the proper time. "I put it squarely up to my country," said a young man a short time ago. "If she needs me she must call, but if she calls I'll go gladly." No cowardice can be imputed to him. There are no illusions in the minds of men about the game of war today. They realize the high percentage of human wastage. The boys

of America have watched the youths of Europe melting away like the morning mist. Yet the boys who have seen this most clearly have been the first to volunteer. And when conscripted, nearly all have gone willingly. In this manner they went in 1775. So they went to join the armies of Grant and Lee. So we see them going again today.

Whatever the greybeards may think of war, as they plot and figure over maps, to Youth it is always a moral and spiritual conflict. Youth fights dedicated to stern ideals of justice, truth, and righteousness. Czars and Kaisers dare not reveal their secret war aims. For the heart of Youth is always tacitly committed to the side of justice and liberty. "He fought for what was wrong, but he was right," wrote Louis How of the dead Teuton boy. German or English, French or Italian or American, the effect is the same. Our living age excels all others in mechanical invention, in knowledge—and in the horrors of war. It excels all others in the vivid sense of the horrors and in antidotes for them. And just as it surpasses other epochs in the realization of all that war and death mean, so it excels in the courage with which men go forth to meet those horrors and that death. Humanity may lose its reddest blood, the nations may deteriorate physically from the cutting off of the best male types; but no one can say that Youth has spiritually retrograded, or—as Hazlitt did—that the young man fondly believes he shall never die.

The Budget System and Popular Control

ROBERT H. TUCKER

Associate Professor of Economics, Washington and Lee University

In President Wilson's annual message to Congress, delivered December 4, 1917, the following paragraph occurs:

"And I beg that the members of the House of Representatives will permit me to express the opinion that it will be impossible to deal in any but a very wasteful and extravagant fashion with the enormous appropriations of public moneys which must continue to be made, if the war is to be properly sustained, unless the House will consent to return to its former practice of initiating and preparing all appropriation bills through a single committee, in order that responsibility may be centred, expenditures standardized and made uniform, and waste and duplication as much as possible avoided."¹

This admonition is very mild, coming as it does from a man who in a masterly treatise written more than thirty years ago pointed out the evils of the congressional committee system and advocated, by implication at least, the British system of cabinet responsibility; but it is significant in connection with the growth of the budget idea in the United States.

The movement toward the adoption of the budget system in the United States is one of the notable political developments of recent times. Within a very few years numerous American cities have installed scientific budget systems and many American states have made substantial improvement in their budgetary procedure. The enormous appropriations required by the war will undoubtedly hasten the adoption by Congress of more efficient methods in conducting the business of the federal government. The question of the budget, therefore, is one of unusual interest at the present moment, and it is important that the citizen should see clearly both the technical issues involved and the relation of the budget system to popular control in matters of public finance.

The present article represents an attempt to present the leading issues in connected and intelligible form. It is written

¹ *Congressional Record*, Vol. 56, No. 2, p. 21.

with the purpose of setting forth the essential facts and principles of the budget, rather than of making a distinct contribution to the subject,² and will be limited, in the main, to some remarks concerning financial systems in general, to a description of the British budget system as compared with the American system, and to a consideration of the remedies proposed to meet the American conditions.

One of the most interesting things in the history of public finance is the changing relation of the citizen to the public treasury. Under the ancient financial system this relation was mainly that of a beneficiary. The citizen contributed directly to the government only in time of emergency and then in the form of gift or personal service. Funds for the support of the state were secured chiefly through exactions from outside persons—from the labor of slaves, from foreign merchants, from foreign states through war and tribute. A tax was *nota captivitatis*, a badge of slavery and disgrace.

Later, in the Middle Ages, society passed from a condition of status to a condition of contract. There arose then a contract theory of the state and a sort of contract theory of taxation—*quid pro quo*, protection and, in return, support. The first "taxes" were in reality money payments in remission of feudal dues, and the public treasury was completely identified with the royal purse.

Only in modern times have state financial systems become susceptible of clear and definite characterization. Only recently has the field of governmental activity become normal and calculable.³ Statesmen can now calculate, to a fraction of a per cent, budgets involving hundreds of millions. The recognition of definite and periodical exactions from the citizen for the support of the state is also comparatively recent. Blackstone, writing as late as 1765, spoke of taxes as "extraordinary revenue." Only in modern times, too, has come the full ideal of popular control of public income and expenditure, and along with it a return of the older idea of the state as

² A very considerable volume of literature on the budget has appeared in recent years. Acknowledgment is made here particularly to the publications of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research and of the Wisconsin Board of Public Affairs and to a suggestive series of articles in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* for November, 1915; also to the treatment of the budget in such standard texts as Adams, Daniels, and Bastable in public finance, and Wilson and Lowell in political science.

³ Cf., in this connection, Daniels, *Public Finance*, pp. 9, 10, 11.

an organism of which we are all a part, to whose life we contribute, not through exaction, not through contract, not even through benefit mainly, but through some still indefinite conception of justice and equality.

These changes have come to pass through the growth of democracy—popular participation in the affairs of the state and control of financial legislation by the people.

But democracy has failed to bring the expected reduction in public expenditures. "Gentlemen," exclaimed the French Minister of Finance, when the French budget for the first time reached a billion francs—"salute these figures; you will never have an opportunity to contemplate them again."⁴ That was in the early part of the nineteenth century. Never since that time have the national expenditures of France been so small. The French budget voted for the year 1914 reached a total of 5,191,000,000 francs. The growth of public expenditures in recent times has been progressive and universal. It has not been confined to any one country or any particular form of government. It might almost be regarded as one of the weird and mysterious phenomena of modern social development; for it has been true both of local governments and of national governments, of democracies and of autocracies, of large countries and of small countries, of warlike countries and of peaceful countries.

The United States has proved no exception to the rule. The annual expenditures of the Federal government have grown from \$1.76 per capita in 1850 to \$9.81 in 1913. Within a single generation—that is, since 1880—federal expenditures have increased over 400 per cent; a growth nearly five times as great as the increase in population and perhaps somewhat greater than the increase in national wealth. Local expenditures have grown at a greater pace. In other words the average citizen of the United States contributes, in normal times, over \$100 a year, or the proceeds of more than one month's income, to the uses of government—not to mention the countless billions to which expenditures rise in time of war.

Whether we believe, then, that this world-wide increase in

⁴ Quoted in Adams, *Science of Finance*, p. 84.

public outlays arises from "a universal malady of democracy," or is the natural outcome of the growing functions of the state, or represents the crushing burden of modern armaments and modern preparation for war, the question of popular control is a matter of paramount interest, and the importance of the budget and an intelligible budgetary procedure can hardly be overestimated.

What then is the meaning of the term "budget" and what is its significance as a means of popular control?

The budget is a summary of the financial program of a state or political unit. It is the fiscal plan of a government. As such it must set forth in clear and intelligible form, first a review of past receipts and expenditures, then a definite program for the ensuing period—all the expenditures to be made, all the revenues to be collected, and the sources from which these revenues are to come—and finally a balance of accounts, a definite correlation of the receipts and expenditures of the state.

The passage of the budget to history involves three distinct processes; its preparation, an administrative function; its legalization, a legislative function; its execution, again an administrative function. Add to these the audit, or accounting function, and we have completed the cycle of every efficient budget system.

Conceived in this broad way, the budget represents something very different from the popular conception of it as a book of estimates or an appropriation law. It is the complete financial program of the government, dealing with far-reaching questions of public policy.

And the object of the budget is to set out the issues in perfectly clear and definite fashion. To the legislative body the budget is a means by which it may enquire both into the use of former grants and into the nature of grants to come. To the people it is a means by which they may know that the public funds are applied efficiently to purposes of which the state or community approves.

A knowledge of the British budget system is essential to a proper understanding of the problems of American budgetary procedure. The British system has served as a model

for all other modern budget systems. And justly so. In no phase of representative government have the English people so challenged the admiration of the world as in the field of financial administration. The ideal of popular control of the public purse existed in their minds almost from the inception of the nation, and it forms, as we know, the entire background of their great struggle for representative government. Section 12 of the Great Charter of 1215 provides that "no scutage or aid shall be imposed in the kingdom, unless by the Common Council of the realm, except for the purpose of ransoming the king's person, making the king's first-born son a knight, and marrying his eldest daughter once, and the aids for these purposes shall be reasonable and just." This ancient pledge was renewed many times in the succeeding centuries, and the whole transformation of the Council into an independent legislative body was accomplished through the power of the Council in controlling the purse strings. By the beginning of the 15th century the House of Commons was recognized as the sole source of revenue and appropriation bills. The British budget system as we know it today emerged in crude form in 1688, but it took the parliamentary reforms of the latter 18th and earlier 19th centuries to make it, from the standpoint of financial technique, the most perfect system the world has yet known.

In order to follow the British budgetary procedure, it is necessary to keep well in mind several of the fundamental characteristics of the British constitutional system:

1. The Constitution itself, based on custom and precedent and supported by parliamentary rules and legal interpretations.
2. The Cabinet, representing members chosen from the majority party in the House of Commons and charged with common responsibility requiring collective resignation in case of parliamentary disagreement or censure.
3. Parliament, consisting of the House of Commons, chosen by the people and transacting most of the people's business; and of the House of Lords, hereditary or appointed by the King, and reduced since the reforms of 1911 to a more or less advisory capacity.
4. The Prime Minister, appointed by the King and choos-

ing his associates in the Cabinet, among the latter being the Chancellor of the Exchequer, usually head of the Treasury Department.

Now under the theory of Cabinet government Parliament represents the will of the people, and the Cabinet, chosen from the members of the majority party in Parliament, represents the will of Parliament. The Cabinet formulates legislative proposals and presents them to Parliament for sanction or rejection. Whenever there is serious disagreement the Cabinet may pursue one of three courses: it may modify its proposals; it may resign and give place to a Cabinet which commands the support of Parliament; or it may appeal through the Crown to the people to elect other representatives who will support the government. If an appeal is made to the people, the election takes place immediately and not at some future time when the issue has perhaps been forgotten or obscured by other issues.

With these things in mind let us notice briefly the actual budgetary procedure.

The British financial year runs from April 1 to March 31. In the preceding November the estimates of the various departments are submitted to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Chancellor brings all these estimates together, digests them, and, in consultation with the heads of departments, formulates a definite financial program. Frequently the Prime Minister and even the entire Cabinet are called upon for advice. Finally everything is worked into a budget, backed by the Cabinet and containing all the data necessary for rapid and intelligent consideration: estimates of expenditures submitted in three grand divisions and each division broken up into sections, or items, called "votes"; estimates of revenues, showing detailed plans as to sources, tax rates, and other matters.

The budget gets formally before the House in the following manner: At the opening of the session the King delivers the throne speech, which always contains some very general reference to the fiscal needs of the government. This speech is followed by an address in reply and a vote that a "supply be granted"—a formality by which the House indicates that it is in good humor and will not hamper the government in

its ordinary operations. Then the House proceeds to appoint a day when it will sit as a Committee of the Whole on Supply and another day when it will sit as a Committee of the Whole on Ways and Means.

Now the first day has arrived, and the budget is before the House sitting as a Committee of the Whole on Supply. The Chancellor of the Exchequer presents each item of expenditure, explains it and defends it if necessary. The opposition may question the wisdom of a given expenditure, it may propose a reduction, it may reject outright, but it may not introduce an item or propose an increase; for in the language of an inflexible rule of the House, reaffirmed many times since its adoption in 1713, "This House will receive no petition upon any motion for a grant or charge upon the public revenue . . . unless recommended by the Crown,"⁵ (i. e., the Cabinet). If an item seems too small, a member may call attention to the deficiency by a resolution to reduce.

This process goes on for fifteen or twenty days, the issues being kept constantly before the public through newspapers and otherwise. Item by item the estimates are sanctioned, modified or rejected. The rejection of a vital proposal would force the resignation of the Cabinet or the dissolution of the House.

But all this is preliminary. The House has merely agreed to these expenditures. Having "voted supply," as it is called, the House then resolves itself into a Committee of the Whole on Ways and Means, and for each of the items previously approved it makes a specific grant from the treasury. Toward the end of the session these grants are combined into a great Appropriation Act.

So far the question of revenue has been considered only indirectly. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, acting for the Cabinet, is, as we have seen, responsible for the amount and direction of expenditures. He is also responsible for the methods of raising revenues to meet these expenditures.

A day is appointed for considering the question of revenues, the House sitting again as a Committee of the Whole on Ways and Means. It is at this time that the Chancellor of

⁵ Quoted in Lowrie, *The Budget*, p. 113.

the Exchequer delivers what is commonly known as the "budget speech," containing a history of the nation's finances for the preceding year and outlining in detail the revenue plans of the government for the coming year.

Here again the opposition may question, may propose to reduce or reject, but the House will hear no motion for raising revenue "save by a minister of the Crown, unless such a tax be a substitution, by way of equivalent, for taxation at that moment submitted for the consideration of Parliament."⁶ In practice few changes in the budget plans are made by the House. Modifications, if modifications become necessary, are made by the persons responsible for the estimates, that is, by the Chancellor of the Exchequer or some other member of the Cabinet.

All this covers only the procedure in the House of Commons. Since the reforms of 1911, the House of Lords has been substantially without power with respect to money bills. Revenue and appropriation measures passed by the Commons become laws whether passed by the Lords or not. The fact is that the rejection or amendment of a money bill by the House of Lords had been rare for more than a century. In 1772 a money bill was returned from the House of Lords with an amendment. The House of Commons immediately rejected it. The Speaker of the House then tossed the bill contemptuously over his desk and upon the floor, and members of the House engaged for several minutes in kicking it about the floor. Henry C. Adams is correct when he says that a healthy Englishman is by nature impolite.

The foregoing covers in a very general way the progress of the British budget from its compilation through its passage to a vote and on to its final authorization. Add to this a plan of audit and control which is a model of its kind, and finally an investigation and report each February by a committee of eleven members from the House of Commons, and we get a system which, while not absolutely perfect in its operation, seems as nearly perfect as human frailty will permit it to be.

This system provides for expert supervision and care in

⁶ Quoted in Daniels, *Public Finance*, p. 362.

the preparation of estimates. It provides for absolute responsibility on the part of both the proposing and the approving body. There is no shifting here to persons who cannot be located. It provides for intelligent and effective criticism. It provides against "irresponsible" changes and amendments. There are no irrelevant "riders" here. There is no "pork barrel." There is no power or opportunity for the individual or a congressional oligarchy to impede financial legislation or to force through other legislation by such announcement as was made by a committee chairman near the close of the first session of the 60th Congress of the United States: "I have the report of the conference on the Public Buildings bill in my pocket. I am going to keep it there until a satisfactory currency bill is passed."⁷ In short the system lifts the nation's finances out of the mire of private politics, achieves efficiency without any real sacrifice of democracy, and insures control of the public purse by and for the people.

Far removed from the system just described stands the system followed by Congress and most of the American states. There are differences, of course, between the budgetary procedure of Congress and that of the various states, but the similarities are so great that, in the main, what may be said of the one may also be said of the other.

American budgetary procedure can be understood thoroughly only in connection with the history of our financial administration. This procedure has been profoundly influenced by the conditions and political ideals prevailing at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, particularly by the theory of separation of the governmental functions and by the fear of executive tyranny as embodied in George III.

The basis of the budget right in the United States⁸ is found in the following provisions of the Constitution: 1. Article II, Section III,—He (the President) shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the union and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient." 2. Article I, Section IX, Clause 7,—"No money shall be drawn from the treasury except in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a

⁷ Ford, *The Cost of Our National Government*, p. 43.

⁸ Cf., Adams, *Science of Finance*, p. 113.

regular statement and account of receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time."

3 Article I, Section VII, Clause 1,—"All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives, but the Senate may propose and concur in amendments, as in other bills." These provisions should be considered in connection with the clauses giving the President power of veto and empowering him to require reports from the executive departments, and the clause forbidding any department head from holding a seat in either house.

No definite budgetary procedure is laid down, but there is much evidence to show that the "founders" intended to perpetuate, in a general way, the British budget system. At any rate, Hamilton, as a party leader and as prospective Secretary of the Treasury, was called upon in 1789 to draft the bill establishing the treasury department and to prepare a financial plan. No sooner was this bill before Congress, however, than a question was raised as to whether it was not unsafe to entrust such great responsibility to one man. One member of Congress "discoursed at length on the iniquity of the human race; inquired where a man could be found honest and capable enough to fill the office; and reminded his hearers of the ugly rumors that preceded Morris's retirement and led to the later abolition of the office of superintendent of finance."⁹ There was also much discussion of the meaning of the word "originate" as used in the Constitution, some members holding that it included the actual preparation of estimates and that to confer this duty upon the Secretary of the Treasury would be to clothe him with legislative power.

The bill as introduced empowered the Secretary to "devise and report plans for the improvement and management of revenue." In the final enactment these words were changed to "digest and prepare, etc.", the implication being that unless Congress called upon the Secretary specifically, his plans might be retained perhaps as a part of his digestion. The whole idea of Congress seems to have been to keep the Secretary of the Treasury under its thumb, by prescribing that calls for financial information should be made directly to the Treasury Department rather than through the President, and

⁹ Dewey, *Financial History of the United States*, p. 85. (Edition of 1903.)

to place the Secretary in a position where he could not dominate or seriously influence Congress.

Another provision of the law of 1789 was that the report of the Secretary of the Treasury could be made either in person or in writing. In 1790, however, when the time arrived for Hamilton to report on funding the national debt, the House decided that the report should be made in writing.¹⁰ Thus the custom was established. The annual report of the Secretary of the Treasury was made permanent by law in 1800, with specific provision that it was "for the information of Congress."

In the beginning Congressional procedure conformed in many ways to English precedents. Revenue and appropriation measures were considered, as at the present time, in committee of the whole, but with no standing committees intervening between the recommendations of the departments and the action of the House. In 1796, however, a committee on ways and means was appointed for the purpose of considering financial measures, and in 1802 this committee was made a permanent standing committee. It continued to have control of both revenue and appropriation bills down to 1865, when a committee on appropriations was created, the idea being to promote economy and efficiency. In 1883 the committee on rivers and harbors was created, and in 1885, owing to a fight between the chairman of the committee on appropriations and the leaders of his party, the committee on appropriations was deprived of much of its power and the work of preparing appropriation bills divided among six different committees. Thus the progress toward diffusion of legislative responsibility became complete.

Under the congressional procedure each department is required by law to submit to the Secretary of the Treasury, not later than October 15, estimates of needs for the coming fiscal year. These estimates are compiled and submitted to Congress in the form of the annual report of the Secretary of the Treasury, a volume of some seven or eight hundred pages, merely thrown together, without adequate analysis, without cross references, without even so much as an index. The Secretary's function is purely clerical. He has been

¹⁰ Dewey, *op.*, cit. p. 86.

called the "funnel" through which the estimates pass on their way to Congress.

Again, when the report reaches Congress there is no committee to digest and correlate. The Speaker merely breaks it up and refers the fragments to the proper committees, eight in all, along with the task of raising revenue to the Committee on Ways and Means.

In addition to this, there are pouring into Congress all during the session estimates from additional and totally independent sources: judgments of the Court of Claims, engineering estimates from the War Department, special bills of all kinds, and supplemental estimates of all sorts and sizes. In the documents of the 60th Congress may be found a supplemental estimate of \$3.50 for one bicycle tire.¹¹ And in it all there is no committee to correlate these proposals or to defend them before the House as a whole. Each department clamors for all it can get. Each committee clamors for all it can get. Each individual naturally clamors for all he can get.

The foregoing applies only to financial legislation. When we remember that bills for other purposes are pouring in from other sources in an equally disconnected and unsystematic fashion, the term "congressional mill" takes on a new meaning. Fifty years has been called a conservative estimate of the time it would take to consider thoroughly all the bills submitted to Congress at a single session. It was this condition of affairs, perhaps, that led James Russell Lowell once to remark that we have in the United States "government by declamation" instead of government by deliberation.

The procedure from here on is very familiar: the threshing out in committees; the committee reports; the wide powers of amendment; the combinations among members; the tacking on of riders; and the powerlessness of the President to influence financial measures except through indirect and coercive methods. The procedure in the Senate is similar, and in the conferences which follow on amended bills the voice of the Senate nearly always prevails.

The defects of such a system are not hard to summarize:

1. It is unbusinesslike and encourages extravagance.
2. No

¹¹ Ford, *The Cost of Our National Government*, p. 16.

one is given constitutional control over the estimates. The estimates merely pour in as a great stream of disconnected and often conflicting requests for money. 3. The system provides no way by which the public may fix responsibility. From a constitutional standpoint, the estimates come from various "irresponsible" sources. "Irresponsible" committees prepare and submit plans for raising and spending money. The individual member is responsible only to his constituents, whose chief interest frequently centers around the ability of their Congressman, in the popular phrase, "to bring home the bacon." 4. Members of Congress vote on appropriation bills without opportunity to ask questions of the executive heads. Similarly the executive heads have no real opportunity to defend their proposals publicly, or to oppose those that have been worked out in the seclusion of committee rooms. 5. The system affords unlimited and irresistible temptation to "log-rolling" and to the tacking on of irrelevant riders having nothing in common, as Henry C. Adams says, but the common desire to be legalized. 6. Great revenues and appropriation measures are prepared without definite plan or expert supervision and are frequently patched up further from the floor, the result often being a sort of legislative "crazy quilt" which defies analysis or comprehension. 7. The president, representing the national point of view, has no real power to influence a bill while it is in a plastic state or to get at the irrelevant portions of a bill, however irrelevant they may be.

The American states follow in the main the trail blazed by Congress. There are certain very important differences, to be sure, but the general results are the same: no expert supervision, no intelligible classification, no concerted policy, no fixed responsibility; the same log-rolling methods, the same multitude of bills, the same patchwork of legislation, and often appropriation measures carrying millions of dollars "jammed through" in the closing hours of the session.

In most states this condition of affairs has continued for years. In the meantime many of our political leaders have appeared oblivious of the weaknesses and real needs of the situation or else insistently jealous of what has euphemistically

been called legislative supremacy in matters of financial administration.

From all that has just been said, it would seem that a very easy solution of the problem could be found in the introduction of the British budget system. But the problem is capable of no such simple and off-hand treatment. Constitutional systems develop very gradually. They cannot be made out of hand or changed over night by the stroke of a pen.

The first thing to be realized, in the opinion of the present writer, is that the American constitutional system is neither inherently bad, nor is it the most perfect system that could be devised. Our constitutional system has, roughly, achieved its purpose, and perhaps has achieved it better than any other system would have done. In its financial procedure, however, has arisen one of the hitches, one of the crotchets, so to speak, of American democracy; one of the numerous places where theory does not "square" with practice.

Theoretically, the democratic thing to do is to allow appropriation measures to be introduced or amended at will. Practically, the result has proved just the opposite from what was originally intended. The moment such a measure comes before a legislative body for consideration, the latter loses its character as a single body working for the interests of the state or country as a whole and becomes a collection of individuals, each working for his district, or his constituents, or himself, and losing the state or national point of view. The fault is with the system and not wholly or in large part with the men composing the system.

There are many signs of a growing recognition of these facts. Along with the "commission idea", indeed as a part of the same general movement, the budget idea has taken hold of the American mind. Reference was made in the beginning to the movement for the budget in the American states and municipalities. There has been a similar movement in Congress, though its progress is discouragingly slow. An amendment to the federal Sundry Civil Service Bill of 1909 gave the President and the Secretary of the Treasury at least a modicum of control over estimates of expenditures and revenues. In 1912 the word "budget" appeared for the first time in the plat-

forms of the national political parties. Moreover, President Taft, following a report of his Commission on Economy and Efficiency, on Feb. 26, 1913, submitted to Congress a budget together with special message claiming the constitutional right to submit a definite plan and to become definitely responsible—a proposal which Congress resented and refused to consider. Only a few months ago a resolution was introduced in the Senate, which, if adopted, would commit the federal government to a definite budgetary procedure.

Of the numerous remedies that have been proposed for the present situation, the great majority may be dismissed as involving too complete a change in our political institutions. For the purposes of this discussion, the remedies may be divided into two general classes: the ideal and practical, what they ought to be and what they probably will be for the present time.

The first of these is the plan of executive responsibility, the idea being that the executive is naturally the leader of his party program and represents at least as much responsibility as can be secured under our system. This plan involves, among other things: 1. The preparation of all financial plans in advance by the executive assisted by a body of experts, and the submission of these plans by him to the legislature. 2. Making the executive responsive to the people by conditioning his progress upon the approval or disapproval of a majority of the legislature. 3. Making the legislative body responsive to the people by limiting its powers to review and approval or rejection, and then in case of serious differences, referring the issue directly to the people.¹² This plan contains the essence of the British budget system. It is the closest approach to popular control that can be attained under representative government. The constitutional difficulties are evident, so far as the United States is concerned, but they are not insuperable.

Actual budgetary reform in the United States is proceeding along two main lines, one being a modification of this executive budget and the other being the so-called legislative budget. The former amounts in many cases to little more than an executive recommendation. It is important, however,

¹² Cf. F. A. Cleveland in *The New Republic*, Vol. VII, No. 90, p. 294.

because it recognizes the governor as the leader of his party and the business agent of the state as a whole, and because it conforms to the processes essential in all effective budgetary procedure. It is a step in the right direction and may in time be developed into a real budget system.

In connection with the executive budget, it is well to remember that the plan is likely to prove weak and ineffective unless it gives the executive full power to employ experts, provide for public hearings, and require all necessary information; unless it gives him power also to appear personally, or through his representatives, before either house during the consideration of budget bills and to modify the budget, as may be required, before final action by the legislature; and unless it shall limit, if possible, the right to propose increases from the floor and provide that neither house shall consider other appropriation measures until the budget bill has been finally acted upon. Such "established services" of the state as the judiciary, public service commissions, and perhaps state educational institutions should be provided for through continuing appropriations, i. e., appropriations running until repealed directly by the legislature,—thus reducing the danger of executive tyranny on the one hand and of political interference on the other.

The legislative budget has been tried in many states, and it is apparently the only budget plan that would prove acceptable to Congress at the present time. This plan consists merely in creating a special budget committee, usually a joint committee of the two houses, for investigation, hearings, etc., and requiring that all appropriations shall find place in one or two appropriation bills. It is urged by those who would uphold the complete supremacy of the legislature. It appeals to the popular ear as being the "American" system, though, as Dr. Frederick A. Cleveland has pointed out, it is "American" only in the sense that America is the only great nation continuing practices which European nations have had the wisdom to get rid of years ago. It represents substantial improvement in the prevailing method, but clearly fails to remove its most serious defects.

In all reforms of this kind the ideal, of course, is popular

control. This ideal, however, is not new, nor is it distinctly American. It found expression in the Anglo-Saxon constitutional law, and was brought to America by the first colonists that crossed the Atlantic. It was uppermost in the minds of the men who adopted our Constitution and laid the foundations of our financial system. The changes of the 19th century were made to meet the complex conditions of modern social and political life. The purpose of these changes was to secure efficiency and at the same time perpetuate the democratic ideal. But experience has brought the conviction that in many ways our constitutional system achieves neither efficiency nor democracy in the fullest possible measure. The growth of the budget system is an expression of this conviction as applied in the field of public finance. Like the growth of the "commission" system in the field of general regulation, it has been made possible by the increasing realization that there is no real sacrifice of democracy involved in selecting a man or a group of men and delegating to them some task for which they are specially fitted, provided they are held to rigid account. Whether the delegation of power comes from an autocracy above or from the people below makes all the difference in the world. May it not be that democracy will find in this fact one of its answers to the Teutonic charge that it is "a blind, stupid, groping thing," capable of learning only in the costly school of experience?

The Priest in Modern French Fiction*

WILLIAM WISTAR COMFORT
President of Haverford College

Among the despatches from France there is occasional mention of deeds of bravery or of sacrifice performed by the priests. But no such fragmentary news can give an adequate idea of what this devoted band of men is doing, not only on the battlefield, but in binding up the distressed and broken-hearted in the deserted villages. In a tiny fishing village of Normandy we ourselves were present at a "Messe pour hommes" in which the curé, after adjuring the reservists leaving for the army and the fleet to recall God and Jeanne d'Arc, assured them also that he would care for and support their stricken wives and children. That was on the second of August. Since then much has happened to the men of that village and of all the villages in the sweet land of France. Not a priest but must have been called upon in new and untried ways to feel that he is an integral part of the community life and a son of the common "patrie." Perhaps nothing more effectively than this war of invasion could have drawn together all the sons of France and, in the presence of a common danger, united all men of piety and charity in one Christian brotherhood. If France can now purge herself of certain abuses and clothe herself in a deeper spirituality, the historian of the future may yet see in the present chastening not a curse but a blessing.

In view of this unexpected rôle which the priests of France have been called upon to play in real life, it is interesting to review the large share of attention they have received in nineteenth century fiction—that branch of literature which most nearly reflects the divers sentiments of the nation.

The priest has always been a conspicuous figure in the imaginative literature of France. In the age long gone, when the great feudal bishops went on the crusade it was natural

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- * 1. *Atala*. By François René de Chateaubriand. Paris, 1801.
2. *Le Rouge et le Noir*. By Stendhal (Henri Beyle). Paris, 1830.
3. *Le Curé de Tours*. By H. de Balzac. Paris, 1832.
4. *L'Abbé Tigrane*. By Ferdinand Fabre. Paris, 1873.
5. *La faute de l'Abbé Mouret*. By Emile Zola. Paris, 1875.
6. *L'Anneau d'améthyste*. By Anatole France. Paris, 1899. And others.

to find that saintly swashbuckler Turpin fighting with Charlemagne's Peers at Ronceval, just as it was natural for the Spanish Cid to count on the strong arm and the wise counsels of Alvar Fañez in his strife and bickerings with his king and the Moors of Valencia. Later, when the spirit of satire set in with the bourgeois literature of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the priests came in for their share of the jests and hard knocks. Cupidity, sloth, incontinence, and rancor were attributed to the priests and monks by the late mediæval writers, as has been the case in other Latin countries to the present day. Jean de Meun does not spare the clerks in the second part of the *Roman de la Rose*, and they are the butt of the jest in many of the *contes* and *fabliaux*, those fascinating "after-dinner stories in verse," as Professor Bédier calls them, from which the Italian novelists and our own Chaucer drew some of their happiest inspirations.

For example, the cupidity of the priest is amusingly rewarded in the *fabliau* of *La Vache au Prêtre*. The priest had persuaded a frugal couple in his parish to give him the only cow they possessed, on the principle that they would receive a double reward for their gift to the Church. Upon receiving the peasants' cow, the priest confined her in his pasture by the same tether as his own cow. During the night the newcomer became homesick for her old quarters, and by sheer force induced the priest's cow to accompany her. The next morning the peasants had cause to praise the Lord for the prompt manner in which His promise had been fulfilled, while the priest was left to reflect at his leisure upon the fickleness of kine.

It is remarkable that the conception of the Church entertained by the mediæval peasant was precisely the same as it is found to be in modern fiction: the Church is supposed to offer an easy and care-free existence. In the *fabliau Des Estats du siècle* we read of a young peasant:

"Qu'au commencement de sa vie
Regarda l'estat de Clergie,
Et vit qu'il est trop precieux,
Trés aisiés, très delicieux,
Les clers ont les prélations,
Les rantes, les possessions,

Les grans palaffrois, les chevaux,
Les vins vieux et les vins nouveaux,
Devant tous autres la parole."

But he changed his mind later, when he saw it was necessary:

"Quant uns homs se veut por clerc faire,
Matin lever et tart cuchier,
De jour panser, de nuyt songier,
Et les autres afflictions
Qui sont nés és prélations."

But passing over the caricatures of monks and priests in Renaissance literature, and also the elegant "abbés" of the old régime, whose manners are not to be distinguished from the manners of "l'honnête homme" or perchance of "l'homme aux bonnes fortunes", let us confine ourselves to the parish priest in town or country as he is portrayed in the fiction of the last century. Even during a time when the claims of the Church have been vigorously opposed by politicians, and her authority threatened by attacks of free-thinkers, her representatives have claimed more than their usual share of literary attention as a distinct class in the French population. Not only are the clergy of France so numerous as to warrant treatment in any general survey of contemporary French society, such as that attempted by Balzac in the *Comédie humaine* or by M. Anatole France in the Bergeret series, but the circumstances of the individual priest are inevitably such as to place him in conflict with the social ideals of his fellows and with those of nature. Not only in Balzac's chronicles of the reign of Louis Philippe and in M. France's chronicles of the Dreyfus period, but at all times and under all conditions the Catholic priest is a man apart, with peculiar problems and temptations which the novelist seeks to analyze and portray.

Certain distinctive marks are common, then, to all priests as members of an order called to perform a peculiar duty and to set a unique standard of holy living. But the circumstances in which their duty is appointed differ so widely, and the character of individual members of this order is so diversely fitted for the combat which is exacted of them, that in reality there is abundant variety offered for the study of the novelist. Then, too, in a country given over to such an intense feeling in

Church affairs as France has been for the past one hundred years, where religion and politics have been so constantly confused, it is natural that there should be a great diversity in the attitude taken by individual novelists towards both the institution and its titular representatives. The novel has been made to carry the polemic both for and against the priesthood, and there are comparatively few writers who have been able to treat the priests artistically, yet realistically, free from bias and partisanship.

However much, then, individual novelists may vary in their portrayal of the French priest, we find that their creations fall into four general categories. The first, as we shall presently see, goes back to the very beginning of the century, when Chateaubriand after the Age of Reason instituted a return to Christianity as part of the apparatus of dawning romanticism: his priest and all his legitimate descendants to the present day we may call the romantic priest. Such a priest is an old man, thoroughly seasoned and disillusioned himself, hoary and venerable, giving to the service of others the life which he no longer values for himself. He is benign, mellow, idyllic—the ideal priest of a country parish—a type which has existed and exists still, but which is all too rare. Historically the type has its origins in the eighteenth century with Rousseau's *Vicaire savoyard* and Saint-Pierre's *vieillard* in *Paul et Virginie*. But, nevertheless, the romantic priest belongs chiefly to the nineteenth century. Hostility to the Church and its representatives marks the second class of novelists in the nineteenth century. They are men who have chosen as their type of priest the unfit, the unsanctified, the black sheep, unworthy to set an example of holy living because despicable in his private life. Julien Sorel in Stendhal's *Le rouge et le noir* (1831) is the first representative of this class of priest, in whose portrayal all the scorn and bitterness of the great psychological novelist for the wearer of the *soutane* is expended. Of Sorel's descendants, too, there is no lack. The defenders and apologists for the clergy form the third class, and very properly offset the influence of these last enemies of Catholicism. They have come to the front more noticeably in recent decades, rushing into the arena to resent the insults of such writers as Zola. They are entitled to represent

the priest as they see him through rose-colored glasses, but their unmodulated paean of praise bids fair to be as unwarranted by the facts as the prejudiced abuse which they seek to counteract. The really great clerical figures have been produced by the fourth small class of novelists whose work bears the stamp of genius, and who have approached their models without prejudice, in the interest of realism. Balzac's all-sufficient art and Ferdinand Fabre's peculiar qualifications have enabled these two men to give us, from varying angles and under different lights, the truest portraits of the French clergy.

With this simple classification in mind, one may draw a composite portrait of the French parish priest, and gain a perception of his large place in modern French society. The truth cannot be incarnated in the portrait of a single individual, but from the testimony of many witnesses it may be established by the discriminating and impartial reader.

Chateaubriand's *Atala* (1801) very promptly opens the century's list of priests in French fiction. Père Aubry is the literary progenitor of all the later self-denying comforters of stricken humanity, dedicated to a life of service among the ignorant, the down-trodden, and the oppressed. In *Atala* the hermit priest among the savages of the American forest is of course a part of the great romanticist's artistic apparatus. Simple though his philosophy be, and elementary though his problems may appear, his faith is radiant and his courage sublime. His convictions have the militant ring of the mediæval warriors of Charlemagne as they joined battle with the Saracens at Ronceval: "Que sommes nous, faibles solitaires, sinon de grossiers instruments d'une œuvre céleste? Eh, quel serait le soldat assez lâche pour reculer lorsque son chef, la croix à la main, et le front couronné d'épines, marche devant lui au secours des hommes?" After thirty years in the New World forests, he can say: "J'admire Dieu dans la grandeur de ces solitudes, et je me prépare à la mort que m'annoncent mes vieux jours." The gospel he preaches is of the simplest, fit for the idyllic existence of Chateaubriand's *peaux rouges*: "Je leur ai seulement enseigné à s'aimer, à prier Dieu et à espérer une meilleure vie: toutes les lois du monde sont là-dedans." Père Aubry has suffered, and has come out of his suffering into perfect peace;

he is beyond the reach of temptation: one feels that he is immune.

Chateaubriand's priest is not of the world at all: he is not on the scene of action, but is far removed from the turmoil of revolution, empire, and restoration, in a virgin soil of simple virtues and elemental passions. One feels that Lamartine, with all his rhetoric, comes much nearer the reality in *Jocelyn*, and in his *Journal des connaissances utiles* he has actually set down in prose what he considered the proper attitude of the priest toward his spiritual and worldly obligations. However, Père Aubry comes to life again in Alfred's de Vigny's *Curé de Montreuil*, in Halévy's *Abbé Constantin*, who is perhaps the best known French priest to schoolboys, and in the stories of other modern writers who have reincarnated Chateaubriand's guileless and benign old priest.

Evidently there is no hostility to Church or clergy in such portrayals. But now the first attack on both the institution and its representatives is at hand. In 1831 Stendhal published *Le rouge et le noir*. The title arrests the attention, and the sinister figure of Julien Sorel remains graven in the memory. By way of introduction to this loathsome creature, Michelet's words may be recalled: "La grande majorité des prêtres sortent de familles de campagne. Le paysan, lors même qu'il n'est pas pauvre, trouve commode d'alléger sa famille en plaçant son fils au séminaire. La première éducation, celle qu'on reçoit des parents avant toute éducation, leur manque totalement. Le séminaire ne répare nullement cet inconvénient d'origine et de condition première." That goes to account for Julien Sorel, but not to condone the complete corruption of his moral fibre. The hero of *Le rouge et le noir*, if such a term may be applied to this despicable creature, is the production of an enemy of the Church. He is guilty of every sin in the decalogue: worldly ambition, deceit, pride, selfishness, incontinence lead him to seduction, murder, and his own physical and moral ruin. Michelet again enables the uninitiated to understand the progress of such an ill-bred priestling and his success even in the Parisian world: "Beaucoup de choses qu'on ne tolérerait pas dans un autre, lui comptent à lui pour mérites. La roideur, c'est austérité; la gaucherie, c'est la simplicité d'un

saint qui n'a vécu qu'au désert. On lui applique d'autres règles qu'aux laïques, et plus indulgentes." And thus, if he is so shrewd in his chicanery, so unscrupulous in his dishonor, as is Julien Sorel, he makes his way under the protection of an institution so corrupt as Stendhal depicts it. Sorel is a figure of portentous villainy, and one feels the power of the psychologist's art in this, his chief creation. But there is no truth to be gained from this unqualified attack upon the back-stairs methods of a corrupt priesthood. One may admire the puissance of Stendhal's psychological study of a criminal; but there is nothing to admire in Julien Sorel as a priest or a man. He is self-conscious, conceited, selfish coxcomb, intellectually "smart", morally a degenerate. However closely the type of worldly *abbé* in the eighteenth or nineteenth century may have approached it, the rank and file of French clergy are not of this sort. Julien Sorel will serve our purpose as a pendant for Père Aubry, and as model for Zola in a later generation, but he is an unpardonable travesty of the typical French priest.

Contemporary with the diatribes of Michelet against the priests, and particularly against their interference with family life, stands Balzac's *Curé de Village*. In this provincial story of sin and expiation, it is the Abbé Bonnet who brings peace and blessing to all the stricken souls. Bonnet's is a real vocation: he voluntarily left a home of luxury, and having given himself entirely to the Church, he succeeded by tactful and irreproachable service in changing the character of an entire population. He is another of these beneficent and lovely characters in the Church, and in drawing him Balzac contributes to the literary reproduction of this clerical type. A priest, too, is the central figure in still another of Balzac's novels, the Abbé Birotteau in *Le Curé de Tours*. The three-cornered ambitions and rivalries of Birotteau, Troubert and old Mlle. Gamard—how familiar they are! How much Balzac has made of the petty bickerings and heart-burnings that serve to enliven the narrow life of the canons as they tread the dark old streets of Tours! As a realistic portrayal of clerical manners, the book is by all odds the most important we have yet considered. Indeed, it is the first to present a priest artistically and objectively, with no intention to falsify or caricature him.

It is likely that Balzac never said his last word on the priests and their rôle in the *Comédie humaine*. The *Curé de Tours* is such a gem of carefully studied portraiture, that one may regret the artist's failure to execute a larger canvas. But, as we shall see, his work was later taken up by one who was especially qualified to supply the lacking master-piece.

Balzac died in mid-century. Before twenty years elapsed, another generation of novelists was in process of formation. Less well known than his contemporary Flaubert, Ferdinand Fabre is the titled historian of clerical manners in France. The priest belongs to Fabre. Around Fabre our entire presentation groups itself. The attainments of other novelists must be gauged by his. What special opportunities had Fabre enjoyed which qualified him peculiarly to excel in this difficult *genre* of the clerical novel? Many a reader of *L'Abbé Tigrane*, *Lucifer*, and *Les Courbezons* may not know the story which the novelist himself has told in *Ma Jeunesse* and in *Mon cas littéraire*. After concluding his course at the *grand séminaire* of Montpellier, Fabre was on the point of entering the Church, when he was repelled by the prospect of the life he was about to embrace. The struggle with conscience is severe in such a case, and the experiences of a Renan or a Fabre offer material for effective scenes in more than one novel. Fabre himself tells how years later he revisited the scene of that struggle in his seminary cell, and how the poignant sensations of years before again swept over him. Renouncing the priesthood in 1848, but with his mind teeming with memories of scenes associated with the career he had so narrowly missed, the future novelist joined the ranks of would-be artists in the capital. For years he did hack-work, writing and destroying manuscripts which he felt to be unworthy. At last *Les Courbezons* was accepted by the *Revue contemporaine*, and later printed by Hachette in an edition of four thousand copies. On April 7, 1863, the great Sainte-Beuve in the *Constitutionnel* hailed him as an "élève de Balzac", no paltry title to respect, and a little later the *Gazette de France* boldly termed him "décidément un maître." It was not long after this that Fabre renounced all other fields, and realized that the press was right in indicating the clerical novel as the field where he might be-

come without a peer. Here are his own words regarding his peculiar fitness for this enterprise: "Dans l'église j'étais saisi, touché tout de suite. Il n'était pas un détail, du bénitier au tabernacle, dans le domaine des choses, du plus humble desservant au Souverain Pontife, dans le domaine des hommes, qui, empreint pour moi de quelque souvenir grave ou terrible, ne me remuât tête et cœur. Ici, sous les voûtes d'une cathédrale, dans le palais d'un évêque, dans le presbytère d'un doyen, dans un couvent de réguliers, j'allais de ma libre allure, j'étais à la maison, tout m'appartenait, les échos me répondaient d'une voix amie." Happy, indeed, the novelist who knows so well the ground which he is to make his characters tread! From this realization of his powers came *L'Abbé Tigrane* and *Lucifer*, the two most vivid and momentous portrayals of clerical ambition and chicanery we possess. Remarkable, too, they are in that Fabre here reached the height of art and of popularity without the introduction of a female character, and without playing on the frayed chord of sacerdotal incontinence. In employing envy and ambition as the besetting sins of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, Fabre is upon the right track; his example might well have been followed by his successors, who have too often truckled to the baser tastes of their readers by passing over these great tragic springs of human action, and by trailing the priesthood in ignoble paths of lurid shame. After the more idyllic *Les Courbezon*, the Church was of course pained to see her representatives involved in the chicanery so impressively exposed in *L'Abbé Tigrane* and *Lucifer*. But Fabre was right artistically, and he was well within the truth as a historian, if we may accept the well-nigh unanimous testimony of critics since the middle ages. Quite recently the Spanish mystic philosopher, Professor Unamuno, has written of the Spanish priesthood: "Envy, which is the daughter of spiritual idleness, is the companion of dogmatism. There is good reason for the proverbial phrase 'odium theologicum.' And who does not know that envy, more than gluttony, more than any other of the seven capital sins, is the vice of the clergy *par excellence*?" More flippantly, but with equal assurance, Daudet has touched upon the same *rancune ecclésiastique* in his diverting anecdote of *La mule du Pape*.

The merits of Fabre's presentation of the priesthood have been universally applauded. The Catholic critic, Barley d'Aurevilly, says "his priests are true," and adds that, after all, *L'Abbé Tigrane*, with its profound study of l'Abbé Mical, redounds to the glory of the priest and the Church, for Fabre is respectful and never loses from sight the grandeur of the institution he is treating. Lemaitre, in pointing out the difficulties imposed upon the author by the very nature of the clerical novel, mentions three qualifications required in one who would essay the *genre*: he must have lived long among the clergy or have studied with them; or he must, after having lived in the shadow of a church, or sacristy, or presbytery, have come out from it and mingled with lay society; or he must have preserved a respectful sympathy for and memory of the Church, even after losing his faith. How well Fabre combined these rare qualifications may be judged from the confessions quoted above.

Little known outside of France, but an unmistakable disciple of Fabre, is a contemporary novelist, Paul Fraycourt. His point of view is so varied in *Dupecus* (1908), *De la charrue à la pourpre* (1906), and *Le journal d'un curé de campagne* (1902), that he at least cannot be charged with bias. Though none of Fraycourt's figures assumes the heroic stature of Fabre's great priests, they are nevertheless life size. *De la charrue à la pourpre* is particularly informing, because it follows the Abbé Cardaire from the moment he leaves his peasant home for the seminary until he becomes Archbishop of Algiers, and an Academician to boot. His career has set-backs; but the progress of this ambitious, talented and worthy priest is steady. After succeeding in his difficult first parish, his scholarly tastes were turned from the study of the Semitic languages, in fear of Renan's fate, to theology and canon law. His next position was that of tutor in the family of a rich Count whose wife was a converted Jewess. In this luxurious household, when he thought himself strong through long constraint, he fell for the first and only time, before the charms of a young governess. The affair remained a secret, and the young priest expiated his sin with penance and torture of heart. He rebuilt his moral structure stronger than it had been be-

fore. Again engaged in the service of his superiors, now a complete man of the world, he was appointed almoner of a lycée at Rheims, a position of influence. From there his advancement was rapid. The scope of such a life is wide and varied. Its dominant note is unswerving devotion to a grand, majestic, and inviolable institution. Scholarship, modern science, tact, influence—all must subserve the great system. And yet Cardaire is not a great man: he allows his conscience to be managed for him by the Abbé Raynal, the *deus ex machina*, who is ambitious for this brilliant and lovable friend of his. Cardaire is a very sympathetic figure, thoroughly human, and full of the force of the soil trained into a running-track of ecclesiastical convention.

In *Le journal d'un curé de campagne* the same author has given us the memories of an octogenarian priest of a country parish. Far removed from all the storm and stress of ecclesiastical ambitions, he has lived to celebrate his jubilee in a parish in whose joys and sorrows—births, baptisms, communions, marriages, and deaths—he has shared for half a century. Softened by his experiences and beloved by all, he is a perfect type of the best French country priests we have met either in literature or in the flesh. One chapter from his homely biography will bear quotation. Toward the close of his life he revisits his old cell in the seminary of his youth, now occupied by another young aspirant, a veritable *alter ego*. "He let me in and, offering me the better one of his two chairs, remained standing before me. Rapidly I looked about me. It was the same room, the walls were still the same color, there was the same hole in the wall with the smoke-pipe of the stove which is lighted in winter, the same narrow window with the little green panes looking out on the wood-pile. 'My boy,' I said to the young priest, 'fifty years ago I lived in this room for four years. I was happy here, though I passed through some trying experiences. Since those days my life has been spent in the calm and peace of a little parish.' When the young student heard me speak thus, he fell on his knees before me, and humbly asked for my blessing. I rose and blessed him, praying God to grant him a happy and useful future, and to permit him after a long ministry to come like me and enjoy

a few moments of comforting emotion in the humble cell where he had prepared for the priesthood. 'Monsieur,' said the young priest, 'I am going to leave you here to yourself. You will be much more at your ease than if I should stay with you. May your presence in my room sanctify it and call down upon it God's blessing'."

The existence of the old country priest in the calm of the harbor after the storms of life has tempted many a modern novelist. Passing over others of a similar type, reference may be made to Theuriet's *Abbé Daniel*, La Brète's *Mon oncle et mon curé*, and Maupassant's beautiful little story *Le Baptême*. In these pastoral portraits one true note is added: the craving of the priest for a child upon whom to expend his love and care. "My village understands only two things," says the Abbé Daniel, "manual labor and marriage. . . . Wherever the smoke rises among the walnut trees, there is a family, there are children. The church, the town-hall, and the vicarage are the only solitary dwellings; yet, the church has God, and every Sunday its flock of the faithful; the town-hall has its school humming with children; my house alone is forsaken. . . . If I only had a little child to bring up, to teach, to love, a child asleep beneath my roof, playing on my door-sill, to fill my home with joyous life!"

As Lamartine cries in *Jocelyn*:

"Vivre seul c'est languir, c'est attendre de vivre!
Tout mon bonheur ainsi se change en vague ennui.
Solitude! un Dieu seul peut te remplir de lui!"

How tragic such solitude must be! How many could groan with Tennyson's monk in *The Holy Grail*:

"For we that want the warmth of double life,
We that are plagued with dreams of something sweet
Beyond all sweetness in a life so rich,—
Ah, blessed Lord, I speak too earthlywise."

Almost every novel dealing with rural society has a place reserved for the *curé*. We may find him surrounded with a saint's halo of unselfishness and peace, agreeably vegetating in many a piece of recent fiction, from Hugo to M. René Bazin. It is time to break the series of these idyllic scenes, however,

by reference to the Bergeret series of M. Anatole France. In the incomparable artist's picture of French society at the close of the nineteenth century—of the France of the Dreyfus trial—the priest, of course, must have his place. Like Balzac, and Pérez Galdós in Spain, he was attempting a panoramic portrayal of his generation. One would not look to this author for a sympathetic treatment of the representatives of the Catholic faith. But if the actual relations of the Church and the republic were at all faithfully depicted in the Bergeret series, one might question the chance of survival for either institution in France. The Abbé Guitrel in *L'Anneau d'améthyste* is the catspaw of a loathsome society of political hucksters, social climbers, and converted Jews—a generation in whom crass ignorance and prejudice have replaced whatever vices may have existed under the old régime of formal faith and family pride. The Abbé Guitrel is named Bishop of Tourcoing not because he is fit to become the spiritual head of a See, but because the rich converted Jew, young Bonmont, hopes to find in him an ally who will enable him to join the exclusive Hunt Club of M. de Brécé. *L'Anneau d'améthyste*, shorn of the qualities of the author's marvellous style, his sparkling wit, and the immortal figure of M. Bergeret, is the story of the ignoble traffic in ecclesiastical preferment on the part of a corrupt and godless society. Unique as is the charm of the author of *Crainquebille* and *La Rôtisserie de la Reine Pédauque*, no one would choose him as a fair judge of the nation's religious ideals. Yet, had he possessed that respect for the Church which Lemaitre declares necessary, who in our day would have been better qualified to equal the clerical figures of Balzac and Fabre?

It will be noticed that up to this point nothing has been said of the relations of the clergy to those who would lead France out into the Promised Land through the development of coöperation, trade-unionism, free-masonry, woman suffrage, rural progress, university extension, associated charities, and temperance. The introduction into artistic fiction of such big words standing for unromantic activities was hardly to be expected. But the time has come when the novel, as a document of human progress, must bear its share of discus-

sion and argument. We have as yet insufficient perspective to judge of the fiction of the past decade which bears upon our subject. We suspect, however, that what the priest has gained as a responsible citizen of a democracy, he has lost in artistic presentation. Many recent clerical novels are nothing but polemics, in which the authors have contended for or against the ability of the Church to regenerate French society. The author with his panacea is haranguing in the foreground; the priest is relegated to the background. This from the standpoint of literary portrayal. Never has the priest been cast more upon his own resources than during the past few years since the termination of the Concordat. It is a life-and-death struggle. Never was there more work to be done. A gigantic system is already in existence to minister to the spiritual needs of the nation. Is this system willing to attack its task in a new spirit, and join hands with lay agencies dedicated to the physical and moral needs of the people and to an amelioration of their material existence?

In criticizing a recent essay of Mr. Bodley, a French writer in *The Athenæum* speaks of the young idealists in France: "They fight against ignorance, pauperism, disease, drink, vice—against the forces that make for the stagnation or the degeneracy of the race. At no other time in France has so much good-will been engaged in this kind of work. At no other time have 'les œuvres' mustered so many private societies and organizations." What is to be the attitude of the clergy toward these new forces that are stirring the nation? Are they going to remain in their sacred enclosure, regretting the old days of favor, and inveighing against the republic, free-masonry, and modernism? Two thoughtful appreciations by devout laymen of the Church's opportunity will be found in *Lettres d'un curé de campagne* by Yves Le Querdec, and *Le Curé de Ste. Agnès* by the Marquise de Pontevès-Sabran. It is curious to find how analogous conditions provoke similar observations; compare: "le curé de Ste. Agnès pensa une fois de plus que la vie du clergé n'est pas assez mêlée à celle des Chrétiens dans la détresse morale et matérielle du temps" with this from the preface of Mr. Whitechurch's *The Canon in Residence*: "there is no doubt that, owing to their very posi-

tion, the clergy of the Anglican church often fail to understand the ideas and impulses of the man in the street."

Another recent "curé de campagne" regrets "tout le temps perdu à écrire de beaux sermons à la Bourdaloue, qu'il eût été mieux employer peut-être à me pénétrer de la simplicité de l'Évangile pour la faire entendre aux simples parmi lesquels je suis envoyé . . . Et combien je donnerais aussi pour avoir quelques connaissances de médecine, d'hygiène, d'art vétérinaire. Combien je serais heureux de me connaître en cultures, etc."

What a long road of evolution lies between such a programme and that of a Père Aubry or of his belated successors! Here is plenty of work to do, and plenty to live for, in sooth. The situation is the same in France as it is elsewhere: marriage must be sanctified, the children educated in morality and provided with healthful surroundings, temperance must be inculcated, the burdens of the unhappy and unfortunate must be lightened, justice established, class prejudices broken down, and all the time everywhere a response must be offered to the spiritual cravings of the human soul. Before such a programme, of whose pressing need all now are aware, Père Aubry and Abbé Birotteau would acknowledge they were incompetent; Julien Sorel, like some of his literary descendants, would renounce his sham and turn "défroqué". But some of the priests we have met would rejoice in this modern struggle with the sins of society, and would throw themselves into it with courage and aptitude.

In our search for the typical priest in French fiction we must be satisfied with a composite portrait. Starting the nineteenth century as a clearly detached figure, he starts the twentieth century almost lost among his multifarious duties and calls to service. Père Aubry, Julien Sorel, Fabre's Lucifer, Hugo's Monseigneur Bienvenu Myriel, Abbé Daniel, Abbé Mouret, and these busy priests of our own day, offer the individual traits from which the reader must form his composite picture. Among the secular clergy the individuals we have seen differ greatly. But there can be no doubt of the prominence of the priest in the society and literature of France, and of the great opportunities that lie before him in the future.

The Question of Poland*

GEORGE MATTHEW DUTCHER

Professor of History in Wesleyan University

President Wilson in his address to the United States Senate on January 22, 1917, before Germany had proclaimed her unrestricted submarine warfare which forced the United States to enter the war, indicated what terms of peace would be regarded by the United States as justifying "its formal and solemn adherence to a League for Peace." In this address occurs the following: "I take it for granted, for instance, if I may venture upon a single example, that statesmen everywhere are agreed that there should be a united, independent, and autonomous Poland, and that henceforth inviolable security of life, of worship, and of industrial and social development should be guaranteed to all peoples who have lived hitherto under the power of governments devoted to a faith and purpose hostile to their own. . . . Any peace which does not recognize and accept this principle will inevitably be upset. It will not rest upon the affections or the convictions of mankind. . . . So far as practicable, moreover, every great people now struggling towards a full development of its resources and of its powers should be assured a direct outlet to the great highways of the sea."

More recently, in his address to Congress on January 8 of the present year, President Wilson included in his "program of the world's peace, . . . the only possible program, as we see it," a demand that "an independent Polish state should be erected which should include the territory inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant."

Thus both as a neutral and as a belligerent, President Wilson officially and publicly committed the United States to the

* *The Political History of Poland*. By E. H. Lewinski-Corwin. New York: Polish Book Importing Company, 1917, pp. xv, 628. \$3.00. This work affords a more detailed account of Polish history than the volume by Miss Orvis reviewed in the *QUARTERLY* for April, 1917. It also contains a wealth of well selected illustrations and useful maps.

cause of "free Poland." In the press and on the platform, American opinion, with scarcely a hint of dissent, has approved both President Wilson's principles and their specific application to Poland. Yet many an American—many an American soldier in France, indeed—could not locate with tolerable accuracy this country which it is so important to set free. What is more, there is no American citizen sufficiently intelligent to formulate the president's principles into practical clauses of a peace treaty which would receive acquiescence—not to say hearty acceptance—by the peoples concerned, so difficult and conflicting are the interests involved. The problem, however, exists, and it must be solved. Obviously the first step is to discover the factors involved.

What test shall be applied to determine what constitutes Poland, linguistic, religio-cultural, economic-geographic, or historic? Each of these is a recognized test of nationality, and the more complete the combination of them, the more perfect the test. In the case of Italy, there is reasonably accurate coincidence of boundaries as determined by each of the four tests; in the case of Poland the application of any one of the tests is confronted with puzzling difficulties, and the attempt to cumulate the tests presents a seemingly insoluble problem. President Wilson recognized a difficulty which has been fundamental throughout Polish history and is notorious in the present situation, when he demanded a free outlet to the sea for the revived Polish state.

It might seem an obviously simple answer, to restore Poland as it existed prior to the first partition in 1772. That would truly restore an historic Poland and afford the required outlet to the sea, but it would trample upon the rights of two compact national groups, the Lithuanians and the Ukrainians or Ruthenians, both of which insist upon their national individuality, not to mention the noisier but thinly diffused German element. Then, law recognizes rights by prescription; many such have been established with such thoroughness since 1772 that the restoration of the ancient national limits would in many cases work new wrongs worse than the ancient ones it would right. Furthermore the bounds of 1772 were narrower than those of Poland's golden age; they did not afford satis-

factory strategic, economic, geographic frontiers and they failed to include some groups of Polish speaking peoples.

If one turns to a fairly detailed physical map, he will find that the headwaters of three streams which flow into the Baltic, the Vistula, the Niemen, and the Dūna, and of three rivers which flow into the Black sea, the Dneister, the Bug, and the Dneiper, form a closely intertwined network which indicates a close commuunity of interests for the people living in the bowl from which these six rivers flow, but which also marks a divergence of interests for the peoples living further down the courses of these efferent or centrifugal streams. This region is separated from central Europe by a line following the western watersheds of the Vistula and the Dneister, which through an important part of its course follows the great natural barrier of the Carpathians. In similar manner the region is marked off from Great Russia and eastern Europe by a line following the watersheds on the eastern banks of the Dūna and the Dneiper. Within these bounds between the Baltic on the North and the Black Sea on the South, within the basins of these six rivers, is comprised a territory of geographic, economic, and strategic unity which is at the same time differentiated with reasonable clearness in the same respects from the regions to east or to west of it. Physically, then, this region, about the size of Texas, is a fit home for a nation, but the historic limits of Poland have never coincided with it, nor have they ever at some time included every part of the region.

Now, superimpose on the physical map a racial-linguistic map. It appears that near the western border of the region runs the line of eastward extension of German settlement; that near the eastern border runs the line of westward settlement of the Great Russian branch of the Slavs. Within the area will be found, however, not one race speaking one language, but a number of peoples of different racial antecedents speaking somewhat widely different tongues. The common factor is that they are small racial, linguistic groups lying between two great rival racial, linguistic groups marked by widely different cultures and histories. They must either bow in common submission to the strong hand of a single centralized autocracy, or they must join in a union of mutual respect and coöpera-

tion, for the maintenance of their independent existence between the aggressive Teuton and the expansive Russian. Religious and cultural differences have accentuated, not lessened, the racial divergences. Economically, while the southern and northern groups carried on an extensive exchange with one another along the line of their mutual contact, on their outer borders to south and to north the two groups faced widely varying economic interests and activities, so that the efferent impulses would often outpull the afferent forces. Historically, a centralized consolidation into a great state never occurred, and the voluntary union, while existing for centuries, was never complete in extent nor adequate in degree.

At the time of its first partition in 1772, and during four centuries preceding, with now broader, now narrower limits, the "republic" of Poland was made up of two distinct political units, the kingdom of Poland and the grand duchy of Lithuania which differed widely in racial character and in cultural and historical development. A similar set of conditions divided the grand duchy of Lithuania into two distinct communities. Thus the territory concerned contained three main racial groups, living in separate sections, differing in economic relations, differing in religion and culture, and responsive to varying historical traditions.

The kingdom of Poland, Poland proper, was roughly the plain—Poland means plain—from the Carpathians to the Baltic watered by the Vistula. The area about equalled the state of Missouri, and prior to 1700 the population was never much greater. Its people were mostly western Slavs who had received Christianity from Rome, and whose historical relations had been chiefly with the Germanic peoples and lands. In the middle ages the various great feudal duchies had merely owned the overlordship of the kings of the Piast dynasty, but gradually the duchies had been brought into the possession of the crown, though the process was completed only by the Jagellon dynasty in the sixteenth century. Economic, cultural, and historic conditions have identified Poland proper with central Europe. In the days of its independence it often looked to Austria and Germany, and even France, for candidates for the throne. Its rulers often participated in the affairs of central

Europe, and in 1683 its hero king, John Sobieski, saved Vienna from the Turks. Since the partitions in the eighteenth century, important sections of the region have been incorporated with Prussia and Austria, while the section which passed under the alien sway of Russia, and is today most often thought of as Poland, is the one portion of the ancient state which has been most restless and insubordinate in its subjection. In it have centered the famous struggles of the Polish people to recover their independence.

The grand duchy of Lithuania was composed of two radically different parts, Lithuania proper including White Russia, and the Ukraine with adjacent districts stretching toward the Black sea. The northern part, Lithuania proper, roughly the valleys of the Niemen and the Dūna, was inhabited by the Lithuanians, one of the primary groups of Indo-European peoples, and by the white Russians, an offshoot of the eastern Slavs. Not until the close of the fourteenth century had Christianity and civilization made their way among them, mostly through Roman Catholic and German agencies. The interests of Lithuania proper and the adjacent districts were those of a Baltic land for whose control Poland, Sweden, and Russia struggled from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, until finally Russia incorporated practically the whole region at the close of the eighteenth century. Since the beginning of the thirteenth century Germans have been filtering into this region and acquiring a dominance over its economic and cultural interests, but even today Germans make up less than ten per cent of the population of these so-called Baltic provinces.

The other part of the grand duchy, lying to the southeastward, stretching from the valley of the Dneister eastward beyond the Dneiper, was the Ukraine, inhabited by the Little Russians, an eastern Slavic group also called Ukrainians or Ruthenians. This land had been the very heart of mediæval Russia, of which Kiev had been the capital. These people had received their Christianity and civilization from Constantinople in the tenth century, but in the thirteenth century had fallen under Tartar rule, from which they had been redeemed by Lithuanian conquest in the fourteenth century. The people of this region were, therefore, Greek Catholics, and by race and historical

tradition, as well as by culture, closely bound to Russia. Under Polish rule the people of this section regularly supported Russian candidates for their rulers, promoted Russian interests, and finally offered little resistance to their incorporation by Russia in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Between the Ukraine proper and the Black sea lies a zone of provinces into which the Ukrainians have filtered to some extent, and over which Lithuanian or Polish sway was at various times extended to some degree, though the mass of the population is constituted by one of the most heterogeneous mixtures of races and tongues to be found anywhere in the world. Historically their fate has been as varied, until they passed under Russian sway in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Their future can scarcely be more certain.

In the fourteenth century, as has been said, the Ukraine had been won back from the Tartars by the Lithuanians who were at the time undergoing Christianization, partly by Ukrainian, partly by Polish and German agencies. In 1386, the heathen grand duke of Lithuania, Jagiello, became a Roman Catholic and married Hedwiga, the heiress of the last Piast king of Poland. Henceforth the two crowns of Lithuania (including the Ukraine) and Poland were usually united, but it was only at the approaching extinction of the male line of the Jagellons that the two states were brought under a single constitution by the union of Lublin in 1569. After this date Polish kings were generally chosen from foreign dynasties, especially the Swedish Vasas, 1587-1668, and the Saxons, 1696-1763. The consequent struggle of rival foreign interests to control Poland, and the bartering of constitutional powers to buy the crown, undermined the national sovereignty, which had never been very strong because of its somewhat federal character. Religious, economic, and social conditions added to the political decline to hasten the national disintegration.

Only too late, after the accession of a native king, Stanislas Poniatowski, in 1764, did the people begin to realize their danger and to take measures for national reform and independence. The power and greed of Frederick the Great of Prussia, of Catherine the Great of Russia, and of Joseph II of Austria, in three successive partitions, in 1772, 1793, and 1795, com-

pletely extinguished the once extensive and glorious state, which had often rendered distinguished service to the cause of European civilization. Under Napoleon, from 1807 to 1812, a portion of the region was restored as the grand duchy of Warsaw. Since then the glorious but futile revolutionary efforts of 1830, 1863, and 1905, have kept alive the memory of Polish independence and greatness. Germanizing and Russianizing policies have accentuated instead of extinguishing nationality. In fact the spirit of Lithuanian and of Ukrainian nationality is to a great degree, little more than resistance to Russianization.

Economically all three sections have been almost exclusively agricultural in character and the population rural. The cities have been few in number and small in size. Commerce has been controlled by foreigners, especially Germans. The mineral wealth is not great and has only been exploited in recent years. Industrial enterprises have made their appearance only within a generation, and that chiefly in Poland proper. A national economic life, aside from agriculture, has therefore never existed; but the economic interests are of vital importance and any future settlement must consider them. Communication and transportation has naturally been dependent upon the rivers and their normal complement, canals; but since 1850, more especially within a generation, a considerable railroad system has been constructed. The future development of the country will require large extension of both the canal and railway systems.

The divergent character and interests of the Polish, Lithuanian, and Ukrainian sections of the ancient Polish state, and the backward economic and cultural conditions, explain the difficulty in discovering a solution mutually acceptable to the peoples involved, apart from any consideration of the interests of the three powerful states which have selfishly controlled Polish destinies for more than a century. The whole history of the region and the fate of small nationalities, including these, in the present world war have made clear that separate independence is not a safe venture for these three national groups, and that only in some federal scheme can they hope by mutual concession and aid to exist between the more populous and

powerful German and Russian states which will undoubtedly continue to exist on either side of them. In such a federation place might also be found for an otherwise isolated Slavic group, the Czechs and Slovaks of Bohemia, whose history has often been closely associated with that of Poland.

The treaties recently negotiated at Brest-Litovsk—the point at which the interests of Pole, Lithuanian, and Ukrainian meet—constitute a greater crime against the national rights of these peoples than the partitions of the eighteenth century, and can not receive the approval of any nation that believes in freedom. The free nations of the earth must and will insist on a righteous settlement of the case of these peoples of the ancient Polish state.

Function and Method in the Teaching of History

EDWARD JAMES WOODHOUSE
Yale University

This is a preachment based on observation of the methods and results of the teaching of history in several colleges and universities and on experience as a graduate student and as a teacher of undergraduates. It is submitted with deference and gratitude for those teachers who, as masters and as colleagues, have laid the writer under great obligations, and whose achievements and methods form much more of the foundation for this paper than anything accomplished by the writer himself. He is concerned largely with gathering together here the strong points in the methods of these fellow workers and friends. In advocating a change, he is attacking, not individual teachers, but a mistaken system of teaching.

The much discussed question as to how to teach history is really made up of three parts: (1) What is history? (2) What benefits are to be derived from the study of history? (3) How can the teacher lend the most effective aid to the student in securing these benefits?

It is not the purpose of the article to debate the first question, but the statements of some of the most prominent history teachers of the country give sufficient basis for the proposed discussion of the other two questions.

Professor William A. Dunning, in an article on "Truth in History," said: "For my present purpose, I am going to assume that the province of history is to ascertain and present in their causal sequence such phenomena of the past as exerted an unmistakable influence on the development of men in social and political life."¹

Professor James Harvey Robinson, in a recent volume of essays, wrote, "I think that one may find solace and intellectual repose in surrendering all attempts to define history, and in conceding that it is the business of the historian to find out anything about mankind in the past which he believes to be

¹ *American Historical Review*, XIX, 218.

interesting or important and about which there are sources of information."²

Professor George Burton Adams, in his inaugural address as President of the American Historical Association on "History and the Philosophy of History," dealt with the new "social sciences" in their relation to history and indicated his conviction as to the province of history. His idea of the relation of history to political science, geography, economic interpretation of history, sociology and social psychology is summarized thus: "For more than fifty years the historian has had possession of the field and has deemed it his sufficient mission to determine what the fact was, including the immediate conditions which gave it shape. Now he finds himself confronted with numerous groups of aggressive and confident workers in the same field who ask, not what was the fact—many of them seem to be comparatively little interested in that—but their constant question is, what is the ultimate explanation of history, or, more modestly, what are the forces which determine human events and according to what laws do they act. This is nothing else than a new flaming up of interest in the philosophy, or the science of history. No matter what disguise may be worn in a given case, no matter what the name may be by which a given group elects to call itself, no matter how small, in the immensity of influences which make the whole, may be the force in which it would find the final explanation of history, the emphatic assertion which they all make is that history is the orderly progression of mankind to a definite end and that we may know and state the laws which control the actions of men in organized society. This is the one common characteristic of all the groups I have described and it is of each of them the one most prominent characteristic."³

Professor Adams favors testing carefully the results claimed by these allied studies and accepting their conclusions as far as they stand the acid test of historical criticism. Professor Robinson seems to misunderstand Professor Adams' position and to think that Professor Adams would reject all aid from these "new allies of history," as Professor Robinson

² *The New History*, 72-3.

³ *American Historical Review*, XIV, 229-30.

calls them.⁴ That such is not the wish and belief of Professor Adams is shown by the following sentences from the same address: "The new interpretation of history brings us too much that is convincing, despite all the mere speculation that goes with it; the contribution to a better understanding of our problems is already too valuable; we are ourselves too clearly conscious in these later days of the tangled network of influences we are striving to unravel; of the hidden forces upon the borders of whose action we arrive in our own explorations, to justify us in ignoring or in denying the worth of those results which are reached by other ways than ours. We may perhaps find warrant for an exercise of discrimination, which does not always seem possible to them, but further than that it is not likely that we can go."⁵

In this connection attention should be called to Professor Adams' language above to the effect that the historian "has deemed it his sufficient mission to determine what the fact was, including the immediate conditions which give it shape." These words and his statement quoted below show that Professor Adams believes that history should concern itself with finding out, not only *wie est eigentlich gewesen*, but even *wie es eigentlich geworden*, not by hasty conclusions, as he fears workers in the social sciences may do, but by slow and guarded steps. This is plain from his own words, "To the true historian, the being of a fact has always included all that portion of its becoming which belongs to the definite understanding of it. What is more than that we can safely leave to others."

It is not attempted here to decide, then, on a definition of history further than to assume the general position that it is the study of man in relation to his environment in the past, of his thoughts and deeds, of his development of himself and his surroundings and of the reaction of these conditions upon him.

Strangely enough few people seem to have written about the benefits to be derived from the study of history and these few have contented themselves with very modest claims. The "Guide to American History," by Professors Channing, Hart and Turner, comments very briefly on the educational value

⁴ *The New History*, 82.

⁵ *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XIV, 230.

of history in general.⁶ "History is an intellectual discipline which has many peculiar advantages. Like literature, it deals with humanity, with character, with intellectual progress. Like the sciences, it is based on a body of facts, some of which must be kept in mind through the training of the memory. Like economics, it abounds in generalizations drawn from a multitude of data, and it develops the judgment. Like philosophy, history attempts to study the workings of the human mind, and, from the experiences of the past to derive some light for the future. Few subjects studied in school or college bring so clearly to the mind the process of arriving at the truth out of a mass of apparently chaotic material."

Professor Robinson has said, "But the one thing that it (history) ought to do, and has not yet effectively done, is to help us to understand ourselves and our fellows and the problems and prospects of mankind." He does not mean by this sentence "that conditions remain sufficiently uniform to give precedents a perpetual value" or that it is safe "to apply past experience (directly) to the solution of current problems" but rather that history is really the memory of the race and supplies to the personal memory the experience of man in the past, to supplement the personal experience. In his own words: "We are almost entirely dependent upon our memory of past thoughts and experiences for an understanding of the situation in which we find ourselves at any given moment." He takes as one example the slow realization of one's whereabouts as memory resumes its activity when one has just been awakened from a sound sleep, "The momentary suspension of memory's functions as one recovers from a fainting fit or emerges from the effects of an anaesthetic is sometimes so distressing as to amount to a sort of intellectual agony. In its normal state, the mind selects automatically, from the almost infinite mass of memories, just those things in our past which make us feel at home in the present. It works so easily and efficiently that we are unconscious of what it is doing for us and of how dependent we are upon it. It supplies so promptly and so precisely what we need from the past in order to make the present intelligible that we are beguiled into the mistaken

⁶ *Guide to the Study and Reading of American History*, 5.

notion that the present is self-explanatory and quite able to take care of itself, and that the past is largely dead and irrelevant, except when we have to make a conscious effort to recall some elusive fact." Along with necessary parts of our own past experience memory supplies us with the necessary parts of what we have been told or of what we have read of the past of the race, that is, of history.

"So it comes about that our personal recollections insensibly merge into history in the ordinary sense of the word. History, from this point of view, may be regarded as an artificial extension and broadening of our memories and may be used to overcome the natural bewilderment of all unfamiliar situations. Could we suddenly be endowed with a Godlike and exhaustive knowledge of the whole history of mankind, far more complete than the combined knowledge of all the histories ever written, we should gain forthwith a Godlike appreciation of the World in which we live, and a Godlike insight into the evils which mankind now suffers, as well as into the most promising methods for alleviating them, *not because the past would furnish precedents of conduct, but because our conduct would be based upon a perfect comprehension of existing conditions founded upon a perfect knowledge of the past.* As yet we are not in a position to interrogate the past with a view to gaining light on great social, political, economic, religious and educational questions in the manner in which we settle the personal problems which face us—for example, whether we should make such and such a visit or investment, or read such and such a book,—by unconsciously judging the situation in the light of our recollections. Historians have not as yet set themselves to furnish us with what lies behind our great contemporaneous task of human betterment."⁷

Many students of history would agree with Professor Robinson that historians have not as yet worked at all satisfactorily the background of present society and progress but would claim that history has *undertaken* the task. Perhaps "the supreme value of history" is to supply the "technique of progress" for advancing social betterment, or to serve as

⁷ *The New History*, 17-34, here and there.

the memory of man. Certainly the conception of history as the memory of the human race is a very suggestive one. In order to take the fullest advantage of the heritage of the race, we must be informed of the centuries of development of which we are the heirs. A child goes rapidly through many of the stages in which its forefathers lingered for generations, or even for centuries, and this rapid progress from infancy to maturity is possible because the discoveries of past generations are preserved as foundations for the work of succeeding generations. The greatest possible use of these foundations is conditioned upon the discovery and preservation of the building done by each generation. This unearthing and this guarding of the various parts of the social structures of the human race are the functions of history. History gives the individual the perspective to see himself more clearly in his real relation to the world and to the race. The chief business of life is learning how to live, that is learning how to adapt one's self to one's fellowmen and to the world as it is in his day. Is there any better way to learn how to live (except, of course, actually to live) than to find out how people have lived in other ages? We learn how to meet our problems by seeing how others have met theirs. The problems are different, of course, and those of one age furnish no exact formulae for those of another, but they do give much aid as to attitudes of adaptation.

Nearly everyone who writes of the value of history in education concerns himself chiefly with the value of the concrete facts that history is expected to furnish to the student. The place of history as an intellectual discipline is seldom mentioned and almost never emphasized. An able young economist laughed at the idea that history could be made an intellectual exercise for other faculties besides the memory. "Why," he said, "history just gives you certain facts, and that is all there is to it. You can't teach history in such a way as to develop the reasoning powers of the student." Such an assertion disregards the attempts of history to explain the causal relation of facts. After all, as Professor Adams has suggested, history tries to set forth the happenings of the past and to explain, as far as is possible from an analysis of the occur-

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rences themselves and without philosophical speculations, why things happened as they did happen. Sociologists, economists, political scientists, geographers, anthropologists, social psychologists can do no more unless they indulge in the speculation that the historian anxiously avoids or unless they attempt to experiment to prove their theories. Many of the facts of the past with which historians and those other students of social phenomena work were experiments. As soon as experiments have been performed, they become parts of the past and are as legitimately the material of the historian as of the "social scientist." The historian is not apt to try experiments for the sake of proving any theory because he doubts the value of so dealing in such variable and complex materials as men, in order to deduce laws. Because there are so many uncharted waters already, he does not trouble to dig a small pond before he begins to explore.

But it is not intended to enter into a dispute with these co-workers. They have at least given the historian valuable new viewpoints. It is well, however, to emphasize the point that the study of history is as much of an intellectual exercise as the study of economics, sociology, political science, anthropology or geography and that history is as much of a social science as any of these. In fact it has a much better chance to arrive at the truth than do those studies that confine themselves chiefly to separate phases or viewpoints of man's evolution. Whatever has been well established in political science, jurisprudence, philosophy, ethics, economics, education, psychology or any other study dealing with man is a part of the equipment for students of history. It is the function of history to take the results of these special studies, to supplement them and to treat the process of human development as a whole. If the sociologists wish to do the same thing, historians should offer no objection and should adopt the discoveries of these fellow workers as far as such results can stand the test of historical criticism.

Assuming then that the information to be derived from the study of history is worth acquiring and that the intellectual effort involved in such study is still more worth while for its own sake, let us inquire next how the maximum of these bene-

fits can be secured to the student. How should history courses in colleges and universities be planned and conducted so that the students may get, first, as much intellectual training and, second, as much information as possible. The chief purpose of education is not to store up information, but to develop the mental powers, and the first aim in teaching history should be to develop the reasoning powers of the students. Most certainly students must have facts to work with; but, whenever it is necessary to choose between giving them more facts and securing greater ability to use facts, the latter should always be preferred. However, it is not necessary to sacrifice either of these aims, information or thinking ability. The methods that do most to develop reasoning powers also cause the students to acquire and master the most facts.

It is unfortunately true that students come to college with almost no real training in history. As Miss Ellery, of Vassar, has said,⁸ "students too often apply for admission to college who do not know how to read history intelligently, who cannot think independently, who do not understand how to analyze material, or to combine material synthetically, who have used only a single book, who have had only deadening routine drill work, who show an entire lack of even the germ of independent methods of work, whose notebooks in history are made up of the teacher's work dictated either before or after the study of facts . . . students too often enter college with a mass of unrelated facts—they have studied facts exclusively, but they have no command of these facts." This is true of other subjects too, and Miss Ellery might well have added that students too often leave college with the same lacks that she has so well stated. Many college courses in history and other subjects fail miserably and utterly to fulfill their functions, but most of them fill some of the gaps left by preparatory school and high school courses.

Perhaps the large preparatory schools and high schools will in time see the wisdom of securing history teachers who have had graduate work in history. Mr. Archibald Freeman at Andover Academy and a few other scholars teaching history at preparatory schools and high schools are giving courses

⁸ *American Historical Association Report*, 1905, I, 154-5.

superior to many college history courses. But most preparatory and high school authorities, though they look anxiously for specialists in Latin, Greek, French, German, mathematics, and other subjects, seem to think that any young bachelor of arts can teach history well enough. However, these young graduates could do much better if their college history courses were really effective, and college history departments are to blame for the wretched history courses in most preparatory schools and high schools. When the college history teachers shall have more uniformly lived up to their opportunities, young college graduates will be able to give creditable preparatory courses in history, even if they have not taken history as a major but have had only one or two college courses in history.

It is not proposed to deal here with the sequence of courses, the character of bibliographical and library work, the choice between sources and secondary accounts. Many others have treated these important topics, and the writer considers even more important the questions of the quantity and quality of assignments, and of class-room methods. For the purposes of this inquiry, we will assume that the student is to be instructed in his first college history course in the technique of the subject and that this equipment should be added to in subsequent courses. The elements of this technique should, of course, include a knowledge of how to use books in a mechanical way, an understanding of general library arrangements, of the making of bibliographies, of note taking, of the use and preparation of maps and charts. But more important than any or all of these is the development of the analytical and critical powers of the student. This is the great purpose of all real education and must be kept in mind in teaching history or any other subject. Care should be taken to see that the partly mechanical processes such as note taking, preparation of bibliographies and mapwork, shall not crowd out the more distinctly intellectual parts of first year college history courses, that they shall not take too much of the energy and time of instructor or student. They are only means to an end, and the end should be kept constantly in view.

After all the talk about the use of historical sources, it

would seem that little could be added on that subject but it is worth while to enter here a protest against the use of only a few brief fragments of sources. One small volume of source selections for a course running through the college year is a mere excuse for claiming the use of sources. Such material should be used, not merely for illustrative purposes, but also for regular study and discussion by the class. Sources should constitute the main body of material assigned. No important treaty, tariff act or other statute, court decision, presidential message, papal bull, platform of a political party, or other similar document should be discussed without the student's reading the actual text, and it is better to have a copy in the hands of each student when the document is taken up in class. There is in history courses entirely too much dependence upon what some author or the instructor says about a source. Whenever practicable the source itself should be assigned. Law students are no longer allowed in the best law schools to study law by learning merely what some commentator says is the rule of law; nor do they study cases by means of descriptions and comments on the cases, be the critic ever so able. They read the judicial decisions that declare the law and form parts of it; and, from the reading of many cases, the law students with the aid of the instructor, work out the principle or tendency that seems to run through the best reasoned cases. It is time for this principle to be applied to the study of history and the other social sciences; this is the real historical method, but it is not generally used in the study of history. Law teachers make better use of it than do history teachers.

History source books should be made up of carefully selected sources as complete and as long as practicable and of such interpretation as is found in the best detailed secondary accounts. A set of volumes of such materials covering about five thousand ordinary text book pages would furnish enough material for a three-hour-a-week course running through nine months. In one such history course open to sophomores, juniors and seniors, the assignments cover about five thousand pages, and this has not been found too much.

Unfortunately such source books as are described above are not yet available, and the selection of books is a constant

compromise. Most books give too many dogmatic conclusions and too little of the material on which the conclusions are based. It is not the fashion for historical treatises to give many quotations to support their conclusions. They give citations to the sources, but no one looks up these citations unless he is going to write on some part of the same subject. Citations serve few purposes—chiefly to show the erudition of the writer and to dare another to trace his steps and deny his conclusions. The great labor incident to such a tracing is usually a sufficient deterrent until another wishes to write on the subject. A good many quotations would add to the length of the book but would also make it more valuable for all purposes. In selecting books for undergraduate courses this point should be kept in mind, and books with many quotations should be chosen. The students should have every possible chance to test the conclusions of the authors they are studying and should be encouraged in this exercise.

Assignments in most college history courses are too short. Fifteen to twenty-five pages of almost any primary or secondary account is entirely too little, and the assignments should be forty to sixty pages. Of course, compact sources such as the constitution of the United States and the Declaration of Independence must be assigned in fewer pages. The only way for a student to begin to learn anything of any field of history is to read a great deal in the best books on the subject. One teacher of history assures his students that, after they have studied the five thousand pages of regular assignments on American history they have only begun to know one not-too-well-marked road through a great forest.

It will be admitted without argument that information is never so fully one's own, so entirely a part of his mental make-up as when it is acquired by his own efforts. It is equally true, though not so generally believed, that students will acquire more facts if they have to work regularly and vigorously on a course than if they can sit up and be spoon-fed by the lecture method. And yet courses in history and in many other subjects are planned and conducted as if these principles were not established or demonstrable. All teachers will agree that the student should digest his material for himself. But when

is the digesting process to take place in a lecture course? When he reads over the assignments in preparation for the daily test—if there is one—and when the subject is more or less new to him? After the instructor has pre-digested it for him in the lecture? He is more apt then to read his lecture notes and to take a chance that they contain all or most of what will be called for on the weekly test. And, unless that most unsatisfactory and unfair practice of grading on oral recitations is used, the student will generally put off his work until the weekly, fortnightly or monthly test. So the lecture often means little to many in the class because they have not read the assignments that it is supposed to supplement and interpret.

How far will the average student be master of the facts and conclusions so steadily poured out before him in the lectures, even if the lecturer is a clear speaker and knows his subject? How long will these facts and conclusions stick in his mind? But the acquisition by students of facts is not the chief object of history courses.

Professor George L. Burr said at a conference on first-year history courses in colleges:⁹ "I think we all agree that the essential thing for him (the student) to gain, whether his study of history be much or little, is not a mere knowledge of facts, in whatever order, but historical spirit, by which I mean, of course, not historical method, but historical imagination, historical sympathy, historical insight, historical judgment. These are the powers to be quickened in him and any method which will give him these is better than any other which will only puff him up with knowledge."

Professor Max Farrand stated, in his summary of the discussion at this conference, that "it seemed to be generally agreed . . . that the training was more important than any particular body of facts."¹⁰

The storing up of facts is only an incidental purpose; the training of the student's mind is the greatest, the most important, the overshadowing purpose of real education. And

⁹ *American Historical Association Report*, 1906, I, 119.

¹⁰ *Same*, 125.

lecture courses in history or almost any other subject are poor instruments for such a purpose.

Teachers should plan to make students do their own thinking and work out their own salvation through the gospel of hard work. Students do more work, feel more interest, acquire more facts, and develop more intellectual power in courses conducted by oral class discussion with frequent written recitations than in lecture courses. The instructor should direct the discussions very carefully so that all take part, should add new material and new viewpoints whenever he can, and should summarize each topic after it is discussed. Thus he will be able to make any real contributions that he might have made in lectures, and the students will do more thinking for themselves.

Frequent papers on carefully framed questions also give valuable practice in analyzing material and formulating ideas. The instructor can give great assistance by criticizing the papers, in general terms or without calling names, before the whole class, and in more particularity to the individual students; also by insisting on accuracy and clearness in the oral and written answers. Students should be encouraged to bring up their papers for criticism whenever they do not understand what the answers lacked, and the instructor should carefully and cheerfully go over the paper and correct any inadvertent injustice he thinks he has done in his grading. He should be entirely firm in refusing to change any grade that seems, after the second reading, high enough. Students respond readily to a teacher's desire to do justice. The grading should be carefully done, if possible, by the instructor himself. It gives him a better understanding of the mental processes and capabilities of his students, and it means much to the students.

One speaker at a conference in 1906 on the sequence of college history courses said, "The normal sequence in history courses is, I take it, through many gradations from the purely descriptive to the explanatory and interpretative, the critical and analytical."¹¹ Should any high school or college history course ever be "purely descriptive" or even nearly so? Does such a course justify itself as a part of real education? Could

¹¹ *American Historical Association Report*, 1906, I, 114.

not the student get by reading without aid a fairly well-written book on the subject all that he gets from such a course? Is a course in any subject worth taking if it fails to be explanatory, interpretative, critical and analytical?

The same speaker said,¹² "Method is, as far as I can gather, the process whereby we impart a maximum of knowledge with a minimum of effort by working along the line of least resistance." This reads as if the most that is hoped for from the student is that he shall be passive and receptive and not offer an undue amount of resistance to the operation that is being performed on him. The chief purpose of any educational method is to induce the student to make the greatest effort for himself and the teacher's true function is to direct that effort so that the student will acquire, first of all, ability for independent and logical thinking and secondarily as much knowledge of the subject as he can. Great teachers are not those who pour or attempt to pour knowledge into students as if they were empty barrels, but those who, by direction, counsel and example, stimulate and inspire their students to enthusiastic effort in the pursuit of knowledge.

A brilliant student once said, "No teacher of either undergraduate or graduate courses ever taught me anything. A few interested me so that it was a pleasure to learn for myself about their subjects. Most of them just bored me, and I studied in their courses only to get credit and high grades." Teachers unconsciously concern themselves chiefly with their own part of courses as if courses were designed for their benefit instead of for their students. When an instructor delivers a good lecture, he feels much pleased and assumes that the students were properly edified. If he should quiz the class the next day, he might discover that a few had written down and memorized his words but that his rounded periods and brilliant figures had been wasted on most members of the class. But the chances are that he will lecture again at the next meeting, and, in blissful ignorance of student indifference and inattention, strive to surpass his previous wonderful effort. And many long-suffering students write notes and "wish that teachers would tire sometimes of hearing themselves talk."

¹² *Same*, 116.

A junior, unusually able, but very indolent, was asked how he liked his courses. He replied, "There is too much lecturing. I prefer to do some of the talking myself, as in the freshman and sophomore courses. I can understand most of what the books give and don't need to have it all explained again in detail. I want a chance to talk over in class the points that are not clear and to get more information on the points that especially interest me. But the 'Profs' lecture all of the time and spend as much time on the obvious things as on other parts. Some of them just 'rehash' the books we are studying. So I stand it the best I can or go to sleep."

Various arguments are made in favor of lectures. One claim is that they do more than anything else to interest the students in the subject. Few lecturers are interesting enough to have this effect. Besides, there is a much surer way to enlist interest and that is by so arranging the course as to demand hard work of all members. Students are usually interested in anything to which they regularly devote their efforts. Lecture courses do not generally command such efforts, and the quotation above is typical of the student's attitude toward such courses.

Another contention is that the instructor can present his conclusions and interpretations in lectures and that he cannot find reading assignments comprising such views of the subject as he is able to give in his lectures. By carefully directing and summarizing the class discussions, and by making, when necessary, brief statements in connection with the discussion, the instructor can make whatever contribution he has for the subject of the day without displacing the more valuable part of the work. For very exceptional reasons, he may use the whole period or what is left after the paper, but he should always remember that most lectures put to sleep and bore more students than they interest and instruct. If the instructor has a contribution really notable in material, form or interpretation, he should write it out and print it, so that the student may have a more careful statement of it, than can be gotten from lecture notes.

It is objected that the discussion method is impracticable with large classes, but a class of about one hundred in a cer-

tain college has been most successfully conducted by the Socratic method in the study of American constitutional history. This course is recognized by the students as one of the most difficult but one of the most valuable courses open to juniors and seniors only, and it has been chosen by more students each year. If possible such large classes should be divided up into sections, but the success of this course shows that the discussion method is much better than the lecture method, even for so large a class. The argument that the numbers taking history render necessary classes too large to be taught except by the lecture method is not a strong one. In some colleges more men take English, economics and other subjects than take history, but there are fewer lecture courses in these subjects than in history. The truth is that, if history departments faced the question squarely and realized how futile lecture courses are, they would provide enough instructors to conduct all courses by the discussion method.

Another claim for the system of large classes conducted by lecture is that this plan enables freshmen and sophomores to take courses under the leading men in the department. It would be more accurate to say that such courses enable underclassmen to listen to lectures by these more prominent teachers in the department, for generally the papers are graded and the quizzes and conferences conducted by assistants selected from the graduate students. A student in the course can, by making a special effort and awaiting his turn after class, ask questions of the lecturer, but this is not encouraged. So most of the stimulation from the lecturer must come through the lectures. Too great a price is paid for this advantage. It would be better to give some small credit for merely attending regularly courses conducted by these more experienced and busier teachers. This would introduce students to the viewpoint of the leading teacher, and those taking large lecture courses get little more from their slight contact with the lecturer.

Lecturing is easier for the teacher, cultivates his power of expression, and may develop him into a good public speaker—and it is very well worth while in any position in life to be a good speaker. Lecture courses are much easier for the average student because he is constantly having the subject ex-

plained to him and consequently has little work to do for himself. He is given predigested material and ready-made conclusions, and his part is to hand back material and conclusions as nearly as possible as they come to him. This dogmatic, tutorial, memorizing method of instruction is sometimes made difficult by great particularity in the demands of the instructors but even then it merely serves to cultivate the memorizing faculty and leaves untrained the higher reasoning faculties. Courses conducted by the discussion method may, and often do, degenerate into the stuffing and memorizing of the teacher's dogmatic conclusions. These may keep the students awake in class more surely than lecture courses but they have little, if any, more educational value.

For the student who wishes really to train his mind and to make high records, lecture courses are uncertain and unsatisfactory. He has to depend more or less on his notes instead of having the material in exact, printed form. Few lecturers are as careful and accurate in lecturing as they would be in writing, so the industrious student has to suffer from the inaccuracies of the lecturer and from the inadequacy of notes taken on what was actually said. Furthermore such students suffer even more than the other less active ones from the lack of the chance to work over with the instructor the material in the course. The conscientious student finds himself embarrassed by the mass of partly unrelated information he gets from his reading and from the lectures, and what he needs and wants is to debate this with other able students and with the instructor until, under the stimulus of mind by mind, the knowledge becomes arranged and interwoven as a part of his mental make-up.

Professor Karl Pearson, after teaching applied mathematics to engineers for sixteen years, could speak thus:¹³ "The object of any technical education paid for by the state or the municipality should be the exercise of brain-power, mental gymnastics in the best sense, it should treat of the science and not the art of the trade. Such education—education, remember, means literally a *drawing out*, not a cramming in—ought to act as a brain-stretcher and not attempt to communicate

¹³ *National Life from the Standpoint of Science*, 32-3.

mere trade knowledge. . . . When technical education acts as a brain-stretcher, then this increased efficiency tells not only on the trade occupations, but on the social and civic life of the educated; the nation is thereby strengthening the reserve of trained brains upon which it can draw in a crisis for all sorts of other functions than those of a narrow trade. Brain-stretching fosters an adaptability to new environments. This is something very different to a more complete knowledge of trade processes or to proficiency in a special handicraft. This is a form of education for which the nation may legitimately pay; it is that which is essential to it in the struggle for existence."

These words were spoken in the midst of the national taking of stock in England under the humiliation of the Boer War. The United States now faces a much greater problem and the American people are beginning to realize how ill-prepared they are to do their part in the World War. In the soul-searching that should be, and is, taking place none should question themselves more rigidly than educators, than those whose business it has been, and is, to lay up for the nation that "reserve of trained brains upon which it can draw in a crisis." Has our educational system been effective in producing the brain-power now so much needed by our country? Have we teachers of history been stimulating in our students as much as possible of "the exercise of brain power," of the "mental gymnastics in the best sense," that Professor Pearson thinks ought to be the end and aim of even technical education? Have we used the "drawing out" process, or the "cramming in" process? Is history as usually taught, made "to act as a brain-stretcher?" If it is not serving such a purpose, then teachers of history are not doing their full duty.

The true purpose of all education is, as Professor Pearson said, to develop the scientific powers and habits that will enable a man to learn quickly, to investigate any subject, and to adapt his abilities to any problem before him. Are either undergraduate or graduate courses in any subject planned in most colleges and universities with this as the primary aim? An able graduate student was lately heard to say, "Most graduate courses give little that is worth while except a bibliography. By working a day or two in the library, I can find

the books for myself, and, after that, I can get from the books about all that the instructor has to give in his lectures and more besides. Five courses out of six merely waste one's time." This is less true for graduate students not so well prepared or so able as this one, but lecture courses for graduates as well as undergraduates are, at best, poor makeshifts for real educative training.

To summarize, then, (1) undergraduates are not usually given enough prescribed reading either in lecture or in discussion courses in history; (2) sources are used too much as mere flavoring and not enough as one of the main parts of the intellectual diet; (3) the most important function of undergraduate or graduate history courses is, not to pile up facts in the student's memory, but to train and develop his reasoning powers, to give him independence, originality, judgment, adaptability; (4) the lecture method does not accomplish these purposes as well as the class discussion method, nor does it help the student to acquire as many facts; lecture courses leave students too much in the position of observers, give them too little work to do, generally bore them, are lacking in the constant criticism, guidance and practice in dealing with materials, so much needed by all students, act not as "drawing out" but as "cramming in" processes, do not serve much as "brain-stretcher" but rather "attempt to communicate mere trade (history) knowledge." Finally, the writer is absolutely convinced, from experience and observation, that the lecture method, in history or in any other subject, does not even approximate the real object of education, and that courses conducted chiefly or entirely by lectures have little legitimate place in a college or university curriculum.

A Floridian Poet*

BY FRANCIS TAYLOR LONG

Professor of English in Southern College, Sutherland, Florida

Florida, when compared with the states that are better known for both their past and their present contributions to American literature, has but slight claim to recognition as regards its writers. The progress of the state in letters has been hindered by its tardy commercial development. Progress in trade alone is not sufficient to insure literary expression, but it affords a basis for it by giving the leisure that men of letters need in order to pursue their work effectively. Yet it is gratifying to observe that Florida is beginning to manifest its identity in the production of literature, especially in verse. Until comparatively recent years there were practically no native Floridian writers of poetry. Before the advent of a group of native poets there had been poets from other states who had visited Florida and had been thrilled by its beauty and mystery. Among the most prominent of these were Sidney Lanier, a native of Georgia; Madison Cawein, a Kentuckian; Walter Malone, who was born in Mississippi, and Maurice Thompson, of Indiana. It is, then, only in the last decade or two that there have arisen such poets as Mr. Henry G. Barnett, Miss Anne McQueen, and others. These writers are in reality native Floridian poets.

As interesting as may be the work of other contemporary writers of verse, it is the aim of this paper to deal chiefly with the poetry of Mr. Henry G. Barnett, whose first published volume entitles him to careful and thoughtful consideration as a representative of the Floridian poets of today.

A summary of the facts of the poet's life is of interest as a preface to a consideration of his work. Henry Green Barnett was born in Leesburg, Florida, December 13, 1890. His father, Robert H. Barnett, also a native of Florida, is a Methodist minister of the Florida Conference. His mother, who was Miss Sarah Epperson, was born in Georgia. Mr.

* The Roof of the World. By Henry G. Barnett. Smith and Lamar, Nashville, Tenn. \$1.00.

Barnett is descended from a family of preachers, his paternal grandfather having also been a Methodist minister. A further examination of his ancestry shows that he is of mingled English and French blood. He received his early education in the schools of Florida, after which he was graduated from Emory College, Oxford, Georgia, with the A. B. degree. With the exception of about five years spent in comparatively brief stays in Georgia, North Carolina, Colorado and New York, Mr. Barnett has spent the remaining twenty-three years of his life in Florida. He is now residing with his parents in Clearwater, Florida, where his father is pastor of the Methodist church. From this biographical data it may be seen that Mr. Barnett is a Floridian by both nativity and long association. The dominant local influence in his life is, therefore, Floridian.

It is, then, not remarkable that there is in his verse the manifestation of a rather distinct Floridian influence. But Mr. Barnett is not merely a local poet. His work has a breadth that raises it above local influences and makes it significant of the contribution that the younger poets of the nation are making to American literature today. Yet it should be remembered that his poems of places include some of the best verse that has been written upon Florida. In this brief and incomplete appraisal of his verse, consideration is to be given, first, to these local poems; second, to the remainder of his published work; third, to a small portion of his verse hitherto unpublished.

In the poet's initial volume, "The Roof of the World," one discovers a number of poems that deal more or less intimately with places and scenes in Florida, or with Floridian motives. Among these are "Tampa Bay," "South of Tampa," "Sunset on Lake Howard," "The St. John's River," and "April Bloom."

In the lines of the first of these poems, "Tampa Bay," there pulsates the wild, restless beauty of the Gulf of Mexico and the tropic seas. The Gulf is compared to a mother lion, Tampa Bay to a cub. There is something big and elemental in the poet's conception here, and one discovers a strong ballad-like movement in such passages as these:

Her eyes are white and stormy-blue;
Her breast throbs like a gale;
And like the whip of a hurricane
Is the slap of her spotted tail;
Her love is the love of the mother brute,
But her wrath is the wrath of the male.

He romps along his cavern
With a primal playfulness;
His play is wild and turbid;
(His soul will bide no less);
And white Pinellas shivers
Beneath his strong caress.

"South of Tampa," whose title only has been suggested by Robert Frost's "North of Boston," is a vigorous, impressive study in contrast, with strong local coloring. The first division of the poem is sternly, almost oppressively, realistic and pessimistic: the second division is essentially idealistic and buoyantly optimistic. The contrast is clearly and vigorously drawn. Florida history receives a pleasing treatment in "Sunset on Lake Howard," which is a colorful fancy that is rich in sensuous beauty. The poet's love of the rugged majesty of Florida landscapes and watercourses is well shown in "The St. Johns' River," with its bold, free conception and its impressive mediaeval imagery. The series of poems would be incomplete without one descriptive of the orange, Florida's most distinctive fruit. This is found in "April Bloom," which is redolent of the subtle fragrance of the orange blossom.

The foregoing poems constitute in themselves a collection of verse that is notable for its insight into and its interpretation of the spirit of Florida. They are doubtless the largest group of poems, and one of the worthiest collections, to be found in the work of any poet who has written of Florida. Though these poems include some of his best work, yet they do not constitute Mr. Barnett's chief claim for recognition. His larger contribution to the literature of today is his other verse, for it is this latter verse that is most representative of his genius and which raises him above the plane of the local poet. It is this verse which gives him claims for consideration as an interpreter of the spirit of national life.

In this second division of poems one may readily select about ten that possess unusual excellence. Included in this group are the title poem of the volume, "The Roof of the World," "October," "Michael's Trumpets," "Lad o' My Love," "Thus Much I Love You," "Whoso," "Shards," "The Alchemists," "The Ferry-Bells," "Peace."

It is perhaps the first of these poems that is most characteristic of the poet-mood that dominates the entire volume. There is in this verse a fine symbolism and a quiet, devout enthusiasm. The poet's soul dwells mainly in its ideal realm, though it is tempered and humanized by the echoes of the working-day world:

The stars are near above me and friendly their faces seem:
Like neighbors they sit with me as I sit on the roof and dream;
They stoop like giant kinsmen and take me by the hand
And lead me unresisting along their goodly land.

"October" has much of the spirit of the foregoing poem. The thought is more extensively developed, but the theme is likewise meditative and symbolic. There is more color present, however, and at times a more spirited treatment, as these passages indicate:

When the bare October wind
Goes tramping the scarlet hills,
And the leaves like gusts of crackling fire
Blow wherever the wild wind wills;
When the night with floods of filtered light
My narrow valley fills;

I close my door to the world;
The scenes of the day retire;
I rise on the firelight's borrowed wings
To the lands of old desire;
For the Phoenix soul of the ages sings
Through the lips of my open fire.

In "Michael's Trumpets" is found grandeur and sublimity and a vigor and beauty of conception that makes this one of the most distinctive as well as one of the most powerful poems in the volume. The poem presents Liliputian and Brobdingnagian contrasts, while its swinging lines are fraught with delicate melodies and tones of thunder. To the poet not only does the Archangel's call seem

Caressing as a lute,
As dulcet clean and haunting sweet
As summer winds that finger wheat,
Or a wandering singer's flute.

but

Michael hath a trumpet,
And it is wondrous vast;
The universe reverberates
Beneath its awful blast.

A sweet, pure appreciation of a child's affection and comradeship breathes from the verses of "Lad o' My Love," the best treatment of a theme of this kind that the poet's work affords. Another phase of love is interpreted in "Thus Much I Love You," which is introduced by these effective lines:

Thus much I love you, dear:
If I were cast upon some sea-girt isle,
Wind-spiraled, breaker-ringed, and wild,
The flushed horizons and the sea-shell's hue
Would paint for me the rosy face of you.
The memory of your pulsing voice, your smile,
Would make a homeland of that alien isle.

There is a delicacy and purity of fancy in this poem which give it the quality of the pure love lyric, of which class of verse one feels that there is too little in Mr. Barnett's volume. But he has escaped, probably in this very way, the peril that so easily besets the average young poet. There is not found in his work the perfervid passion that so often characterizes the moods of the youthful singer. He is, in fact, never sentimental, though nearly all of his verse is tinged with sentiment.

An example of profound and distinctly spiritual sentiment is shown in the poem "Whoso," which is a six-stanza presentation of the powers of good and evil as these forces manifest themselves in the lives of men. It suggests strongly the philosophy which has moulded the poet's life, particularly as this guiding power is revealed in these fine words:

Whoso inures his will to discipline,
He arms his mind against the sternest strife;
Whoso welcomes the Kingly Guest within,
He breathes the airs of everlasting life.

A nature lyric of unusual delicacy and subtle beauty is "The Alchemists." In its three brief stanzas have been caught and imprisoned the charm of the fields and the skies as they are wooed by the sun and the wind and the rain:

The river's bed is habited
By south-wind alchemists:
One bank is dimmed with gentian fogs
And one with pansy mists.

The hills that brood above my head
Are robed in wraiths of blue:
One hill is wet with violets
And one with lilac-dew.

From cloud-banks, white and lava-red,
The buoyant north-wind blows
Showers of glancing asphodel
And melting flakes of rose.

Probably the most purely musical poem in the collection is "The Ferry Bells." In this brief poem there is unusual melody, for the poet normally does not concern himself so much with the music of his lines as with the spirit-mood which he intends for them to reveal. Even in this poem, however, it is not the music that impresses one but the beauty of the symbolism:

The ferry slowly fades into the dark;
The waters pilot back the passengers' farewells;
Against the wharves where human souls embark
Blow back the echoes of the ferry-bells:
The ferry-bells, the ferry-bells
That melt into the mist;
The tolling of their tongues dispels
The river's fogs, I wist;
The gloaming bells, the homing bells
Of Death, the Melodist.

A poem that is remarkable not only for its brevity, clarity and beauty of conception but also for its almost perfect technical structure is the one entitled, "Peace." Its five concise stanzas are as follows:

A cottage hearthstone's mellow light
Against a black and wanton night:

A throstle's nest, light and compact,
Poised o'er a brawling cataract:

A soldier's face, pallid and dumb,
Amid a war's delirium:

A sailor's cabin, red and warm,
Beneath a white antarctic storm:

A human heart, strong and content,
Amidst a world's bewilderment.

To the foregoing lists of poems may be added a number of others of lesser merit but worthy of special mention. Two of these, "Death" and "Grief," are sonnets, a form which the poet seldom employs. Others are "The Virgin Mists," "To a Child," "The Lakeside Pine," "The Ploughman," "Fernandina," "The Poet's Night," "Flame and Foam," "The Farmer," "A Letter of Christ," "I Live in a Land," "My Home," "Peace." These titles serve to indicate the versatility and the fertility of the poet's imagination, for this first volume contains one hundred and eleven poems.

In nearly all of these poems is found, with varying intensity, the poet's definite, positive and optimistic philosophy of life. He is a dweller in the starry spaces, and for him the illumination of this realm is tinged with a strong religious coloring. In declaring his belief in a personal God, Mr. Barnett has made this observation:

One of the supreme confidences—rather the dominating belief—of my life is in a personal God who is Father to men. When I explore my mind for the central integrating interest there, I find it to be God: not a vague, isolated Deity, not an Impersonal Energy, but a warm, vital present person who cares for individual men with an intense love. This central conviction of my heart like some spiritual gravitation polarizes my thinking, reveals my interests, explains my motives, creates my philosophy, dignifies my conception of nature and man, interfuses my feelings, ramifies my opinions, gives tensility to my aspirations, broadens my outlook, consciously or unconsciously colors all my living. I hope, then, that the volume (*The Roof of the World*) is in the best sense of the word religious; for no conception of life, no portrayal of beauty, no challenge to the human spirit, is completely orb'd without the omnipresent sense of God, and no possession in life is comparable to a sane, robust and child-like faith in Him.

This statement of the dominating idea in the poet's philosophy of life is not vague or indefinite. It is the result not of a whim but of a profound conviction. It is a frank, manly, sincere utterance.

In examining this first volume one thing, probably above all others, impresses the thoughtful reader, that is, the possibility of greater achievement by the poet. Consequently an inspection of some of the most representative work of the poet since the issuance of the first volume is of interest.

Particularly has the poet grown in his ability to gauge and interpret the present crisis in the history of this nation and of the world. "The Great Bowl," apparently the best of Mr. Barnett's war verse, contains a vivid, dramatic presentation of a theme that pulses with elemental vigor. Another poem of this kind, "The Travail," has breadth of conception and effectiveness of execution. Verse of this type adds considerably to Mr. Barnett's poetic achievement, especially to the broader and more national phase of it. Growth may be traced, too, in the treatment of the sonnet form, as exemplified in "Monotony," and "The Common Road," while "Paladins," "The Builder," and "Twilight and Morning" register a further advance in the management of the short lyric. [The poems mentioned in this paragraph are printed for the first time at the conclusion of the article.]

Mr. Barnett has made a notable contribution to the literature of Florida, and his verse, even when viewed in the light of today's national literary achievement, is worthy of consideration. With the maturing of his genius, he should fulfill more completely the expectations which his initial volume has aroused.

THE GREAT BOWL

Vivid and ruddy
Flashed the Great Bowl,
And though it was bloody
We drank it down whole:
Glutinous, gory,
Terribly poured,
Ancientest, hoary
Cup of the sword.

Sharp was its savor,
Bitter its taste;
We owned its full flavor
With shuddering haste:
Such an elixir
As craven man sips,
Death, the great mixer,
Pressed to our lips.

Yea, at this denser
Fountain of strife
We drained an intenser
Flagon of life:
Sweeter and rarer
Less venomous
Than sloth's cupbearer
Had tasted for us.

Gravely we hasted,
Proudly we quaffed—
Not a drop wasted
Of war's deepest draught:
Crimsonly freighted
Foamed the Great Bowl;
We drank and fell, sated,
Prone on death's goal.

THE TRAVAIL

I

With anguish harsh the nations quail,
In blinding blood the earth is swirled:
The pangs are on—there shall not fail
One discipline by heaven hurled,
Till from the blood of that travail
Shall leap a new and nobler world.

II

With anguish deep the peoples wail—
A solemn joy is on each face—
No bitter pang nor corded flail
Shall drive them from that bloody place
Until their mighty toil avail
To bring to birth a lordlier race!

MONOTONY

Back in the years foreshadowed there was a time
 When all the world in vibrant glory lay,
 When meager drudgeries seemed half-sublime
 And stars transfused the light of common day.
 But I lost faith in man; and now alone
 I sit through each drab-hued, unvarying year,
 Till earth's high music seems a monotone
 Which falls like grossest clods upon my ear;
 Amidst a desert-waste of arid plains
 I drink the tepid, tasteless draughts of care,
 Munch the stale loaves of mankind's hard disdain,
 And gasp in stifling fumes of humid air:
 Till in these sultry miasmas my mind
 Flings for one gust of love's exultant wind.

THE COMMON ROAD

When I shall die and from this common road
 Climb to the House whose spiraled towers gleam
 Pure as the bastioned minarets of a dream:
 Think not:—With traitorous haste he dropped the load
 Of human frailty, exchanged earth's goad
 For heaven's ecstasy; but rather deem
 There walks to whom earth's homeliest taskings seem
 An august path to that divine abode;
 Who loved the thorns that chafed his arms, the sward
 With labor's hardy briars richly sprent,
 The gates of gain o'er which grave toil stands guard,
 Pain's nettled footpaths dense, resilient;
 Who mounted stubble-pricked, but nothing marred
 Into the triumphs of life's firmament.

PALADINS

Nature, the immemorial Queen,
 Who moulds the Princes of the Years,
 Passed by the Palaces of Ease
 And sought the land of Pioneers.
 Far from the enervating courts
 Of sloth and self-indulging pride
 She sought the soil's untainted sons
 And drew them roughly to her side.
 Through harsh campaigns of toil and pain,
 Through campfires' irking chastenings,

She fibred them till they were meet
To lead the soldiery of kings.

From forest and primeval glen,
From the slum and untamed everglade,
She seized her thewed and knightly men
And brought them to their accolade.

By grinding gravities of toil,
And solitary disciplines,
She shaped the peasants of the soil
And wrought her deathless paladins.

THE BUILDER

When the Lord who builded the Planets
Came to His cottage, Earth,
They had no room to roof Him
Or to canopy His birth.

Guest-rooms for prince and peasant,
Chambers for lord and spouse,
But never an attic to shelter
The Lord who had builded the house.

He who had bidden archangels
And summoned the seraphim—
They hasted Him over the deserts
To rescue the life of Him.

Welcome for minstrel and hireling,
Welcome for stranger and kin,
But scorn and the whip of their anger
For Him who had builded the Inn.

He who had fashioned the planets,
Mansions of granite and fire,
They turned Him away from their threshold
And the hearth of His eager desire.
He who foundationed the heavens
And frescoed the firmaments' dome,
They slew Him and buried His body
Away from the light of their home.

L'Envoi

O King of the Constellations,
O Outcast of Galilee,
We offer the courts of our spirits
To temple the heart of Thee.

TWILIGHT AND MORNING

They laid Him away in a vaulted grave
By a twilight's ashen gloom,
Away from the light of the liliated hills
And the garden's dimming bloom;
But the myrtles bowed their heads and wept,
And the martagons watched (while the soldiers slept)
And the olives crowded close and kept
The stone that locked His tomb.

He stepped from the dusk of the rough-hewn grave
By the stars of a graying morn;
And he spoke to the weeping muscadine
And His hand caressed the thorn.
Then the hyssop awoke and whispered, "List!"
And the grasses the hems of His garments kissed,
And the eyes of the sycamine were mist
When the Master said, "Good morn!"

Tendencies in Modern American Poetry*

JULIUS W. PRATT
United States Naval Academy

The most valuable contribution that has yet been made to an understanding of the new movement in poetry is, I think, the volume recently published under the above title. Miss Lowell has made available for the first time biographical material which is most helpful in an interpretation of the work of the six representative poets here treated; she has differentiated clearly the three-principal phases of the new movement; and she has, in two-thirds of the volume, at least, produced some unprejudiced and really helpful criticism. In her frank treatment of Masters and Sandburg, and in her appreciative prefatory references to such moderately conservative poets as Louis Untermeyer and William Rose Benét, she has proved once for all that enthusiasm has not blinded her to the faults of the new or to the excellences of the old.

Of the six poets whom Miss Lowell has selected for treatment—Edward Arlington Robinson, Robert Frost, Edgar Lee Masters, Carl Sandburg, "H. D.," and John Gould Fletcher—two represent each of the three stages in the new development in our poetry. These three stages can best be defined in Miss Lowell's own words:

"All racial changes begin by a disappearance, a slow fading of the fundamental beliefs upon which that particular civilization was reared, but the results of these beliefs still retain their hold upon the people brought up in them. The next step finds the beliefs so much a thing of the past that they have no power to mould character, and the result, for the moment, is a sort of mental chaos, in which cynicism becomes a dominant attitude, in many cases ending in downright despair. The third stage is that in which the change is so complete that it no longer requires to be considered as such at all. The old tradition has passed into the line of history, and departure from it is the rule, not the exception. Men have reared

* *Tendencies in Modern American Poetry.* By Amy Lowell. New York. The Macmillan Company. \$2.50.

new beliefs, are living upon other planes of thought, and that being for the moment settled, they are able to turn their attention to other things, for instance: Beauty.

"In the first stage, beauty is a thing remembered and haunting; in the third stage, it is rediscovered and intoxicating; but in the second, it is crowded out by the stress of travail, by the pangs of a birth which has not yet occurred."

The first stage is represented by Robinson and Frost, the second by Masters and Sandburg, the third by the "Imagists"—"H. D." and John Gould Fletcher.

No one, I think, can well take exception to Miss Lowell's treatment of the first four poets. Her estimate of their powers, and their limitations as well, is that at which every unprejudiced critic has already arrived. It is reassuring to one who, acknowledging and honoring the tremendous power of Master's work, has yet found it unbalanced, cynical, savage, at times indecent, to find in Miss Lowell's volume the following sane and common-sense stricture upon the morbid oversexing of his philosophy: "'Spoon River' is one long chronicle of rapes, seductions, liaisons, and perversions. It (i. e., this morbid treatment of sex) is the great blot upon Mr. Masters' work. It is an obliquity of vision, a morbidness of mind, which distorts an otherwise remarkable picture."

It is when she approaches that group of poets to which she herself belongs—the Imagists—that Miss Lowell's critical faculty succumbs to her personal predilections. The one valuable service she has performed in this section of the book—in addition always to biography and illustrative material—is the pointing out of the Greek affinities of "H. D."—a service which helps immeasurably in understanding the delicate, chaste work of that exquisite artist. But the reader who knows at the end of the chapter just what the Imagists are or stand for will have gained that knowledge from the illustrations, not from Miss Lowell's exposition.

I should like to have space here to take up in detail the six Imagist tenets which Miss Lowell quotes from the preface to the anthology, "Some Imagist Poets." I could show, I believe, that with one exception they are the tenets not of the Imagists alone but of the entire group of poets representing

the new movement. The one exception, the one aim which sets off the Imagists from their fellows, is this: To present an image.

Now the editor of the anthology, and Miss Lowell herself, both protest that the Imagists are "not a school of painters." But, if one may judge from the illustrations of their work here given, that is exactly what they are, in that their whole or chief aim, the one characteristic which differentiates them from the rest, is—by concreteness, by specific wording, by the plentiful employment of color words, but the use of what I may venture to describe as a sort of super-metaphor—to call up a definite, colorful picture to the eye. Take the following, which Miss Lowell calls "one of the most completely successful things that Mr. Fletcher has done:"

The trees, like great jade elephants,
Chained, stamp and shake 'neath the gadflies of the breeze;
The trees lunge and plunge, unruly elephants:
The clouds are their crimson howdah-canopies,
The sunlight glints like the golden robe of a Shah.
Would I were tossed on the wrinkled backs of those trees.

That is very beautiful work, no one can deny; but what is it if not picture painting? Remove the visual element, and what is left?

I should like here to call attention to the work of a man who was an Imagist without knowing it, perhaps—a man who preceded Mr. Fletcher in writing color symphonies, as both the title and the workmanship of his "Symphony in Yellow" prove. I mean Oscar Wilde. Suppose we take these two stanzas of Wilde's "Le Panneau," ("The Panel"):

Under the rose-tree's dancing shade
There stands a little ivory girl,
Pulling the leaves of pink and pearl
With pale green nails of polished jade.

The red leaves fall upon the mould,
The white leaves flutter, one by one,
Down to a blue bowl where the sun,
Like a great dragon, writhes in gold.

Now, but for its metrical form and its riming, that is an Imagist poem, and if we alter it a bit to read thus:

Purple dancing shade of a rose-tree,
And beneath it
A girl white as ivory.
Polished jade are her pale green nails,
Flicking the pink and pearl rose-leaves.

The red leaves fall
Upon the black mould.
The white leaves flutter down, down
To a blue bowl where,
Like a writhing golden dragon,
The sun glares,—

I maintain that we have essentially the Imagist effect. Miss Lowell asserts that the Imagist rules are those by which the poets of this group "consider the best poetry to be produced." Wilde, with a better sense of proportion, included the above poem in a group called "Fantaisies Décoratives"—"Decorative Whims." The poems of "H. D.", of Mr. Fletcher, of Miss Lowell herself, are immeasurably stronger than these dainty "whims" of Mr. Wilde's, but after all, the aim and the effect are essentially the same. Upon them all, I think, the final verdict will be that they are "decorative whims," very beautiful indeed, but not "the best poetry,"—certainly not the greatest.

BOOK REVIEWS

AMERICAN IDEALS. Edited by Norman Foerster and W. W. Pierson, Jr. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1917,—vi, 326 pp. \$1.25 net.

The editors of this, one of the many books called into being by the war, have set down in their preface the occasion for the compiling of their work. The Civil War "revealed once more, as the War of Independence had also revealed, the idealism of those remote forbears of ours who came to this continent 'not to seek gold, but God.' But after the Civil War our national prosperity grew apace, until our ideals seemed gradually to become dimmer, and in the view of many observers, both foreign and American, faded away altogether. And now, having accepted our responsibilities in world affairs, we believe that we shall reveal once again some of the ideals we have cherished in the past and some of the ideals that the age calls for."

The book is a collection of famous utterances in which our changing and growing ideals as a people have been from time to time set forth. The plan is chronological and climactic, leading up from our emergence as a separate people remote and isolated from the nations of the globe, to our significant entry into the most tremendous of all world struggles. The brief first section presents the ideals actuating our Revolutionary forefathers. The second, slightly breaking the unity of the book, covers the now historical quarrel over the source of ultimate authority, the individual states or the United States. The selections in the third are chosen in an attempt to define and interpret American democracy as it has exemplified our national spirit during the past century. The fourth illustrates the growth and development of our conception of foreign policy, through the successive stages of Isolation, Pan-Americanism, and finally International Association.

A sort of appendix gives some noteworthy English, French, and German estimates of our character and government, ending appropriately with Balfour's New York address, "The Co-operation of English-Speaking Peoples." The in-

clusion of some representative German opinions of us during the war would doubtless have increased the interest and usefulness of the book as a war document, but might have lessened its permanent value. A single passage from Kuno Francke's "The German and the American Temper," might be taken to heart by friends of the German people who are skeptical concerning manifestations of German brutality in the war. He says: "And thus this same passion for self-surrender, which has produced the greatest and noblest types of German earnestness and devotion, has also led to a number of paradoxical excrescences and grotesque distortions of German character. Nobody is more prone to forget his better self in this so-called 'living himself out' than the German. Nobody can be a cruder materialist than the German who has persuaded himself that it is his duty to unmask the 'lie of idealism.'" Though the essay was written before August, 1914, and he is not referring to the excesses of soldiers under military orders or the acts of the imperial government under the stern decrees of "military necessity," the transference of ideas is almost unavoidable.

American Ideals renders accessible together a number of scattered addresses, essays, official documents, and poems which are of much importance just at present. Some of the more notable of these—aside from the indispensable utterances like Webster's Speech of John Adams on adopting the Declaration of Independence, Wirt's "Liberty Speech" of Patrick Henry, and Lincoln's "Gettysburg Address"—are Professor Turner's illuminating "Contributions of the West to American Democracy," Lowell's "The Present Crisis," President Alderman's "Can Democracy Be Organized?" President Monroe's exposition of the doctrine which bears his name, President Lowell's "A League to Enforce Peace," G. L. Dickenson's "The Divine Average," and Wilson's Conscription Proclamation and war address to Congress. The prominence given to President Wilson in this as in all other books of the sort and the readiness with which the Allied nations seem tacitly to have accepted him as their spokesman on the greater war issues raises interesting speculation as to what will be the rank awarded him among our national political writers and

thinkers. Without possessing the beauty and inevitableness of phrase—even the conciseness—of Lincoln's noblest address, the sonorous grandeur of Webster, or the fire of Patrick Henry, he seems assured of a station among them, as great as any.

H. M. ELLIS.

OFFICIAL LETTER BOOKS OF W. C. C. CLAIBORNE, 1801-1816. Edited by Dunbar Rowland, director Mississippi Department of Archives and History. Six volumes. Jackson, Miss.: State Department of Archives and History, 1917.

In his Mississippi Territorial Archives (Vol. I), and also in his Third Annual Report, Dr. Rowland published portions of the letter books of Governor Claiborne; their entire contents are now issued. A veritable mine of little exploited information is thus disclosed concerning such vital matters as national relations before the purchase of Louisiana, the transfer of the new territory to the United States, organization of the American government, race relations, commercial problems, the Second War with England, and the careers of such leaders as Andrew Jackson, Aaron Burr, James Wilkinson, and Edward Livingstone. To give such a mass of material to the public at one time is an achievement of no mean proportions and the State of Mississippi is to be congratulated on its patriotic interest and its generosity.

There are, however, certain limitations in the work. One is the paucity of footnotes explaining the circumstances under which a letter is written and the importance of the writer. Another is the lack of collation with the six volumes of Claiborne Manuscripts in the Library of Congress, for which Parker's Calendar of Papers . . . relating to the Territories of the United States must be used, perhaps making necessary a trip to Washington to fill in gaps in the Letter Books. Still another is the absence of a table of contents which may be supplemented by using the list of Claiborne's letters in the Third Annual Report. Nor is chronological order always followed in presentation of the letters. There is, however, a useful bibliography of printed material for the period covered by the Letter Books (Vol. VI, 407-416), and also an

inventory of papers relating to West Florida in the Library of Congress (*Ibid.*, 417-419). Local considerations doubtless made impossible a more thorough and extensive application of references.

The volumes are neatly bound, evidently designed for practical service rather than ornament. The press work also deserves commendation. There is an ample index. A distinct service has been rendered the cause of southwestern history.

WILLIAM K. BOYD.

THE HISTORY OF THE JEWS OF RICHMOND FROM 1769 TO 1917. By Herbert T. Ezekiel and Gaston Lichtenstein. Richmond, Virginia: Herbert T. Ezekiel, Printer and Publisher, 1917, 374 pp.

This volume represents not merely a labor of love but what must also be many months of patient research and exact attention to detail. It presents the history for a century and a half of a community that needs fear no tinge of shame for that history. The city of Richmond itself has a proud record. Its own people, the State of Virginia, and the whole South, are justly proud of the manner in which Richmond has borne itself, especially during the trying days of the war and the worse aftermath of the reconstruction period, and of the manner in which it has risen from the ashes of its sorrow and desolation to the proud position which it now occupies. That the Jewish people should be identified with the growth and up-building of any community in which they are situated is not a matter for surprise. But it is a revelation to learn what the Jews of Richmond have done, not merely for the city itself, but for the State and the country.

Starting with the smallest of beginnings, in the third quarter of the eighteenth century, the history of the Jews is presented, with a loving pen to be sure, but none the less accurately and dispassionately.

The record begins with Isaiah Isaacs & Co., who on May 18, 1780, acquired land in the then thriving village, which by reason of its greater safety, had five years previously supplanted the city of Williamsburg as the seat of Colonial government. From this beginning the community grew, slowly at first but with certainty, to one that commanded high position in the

city. As the authors well say (p. 12) "the history of the Jews of Richmond is the history of Richmond. This element has been too closely allied with every movement for the uplift and betterment of all its people to have a segregated chronicle of its own. It has been impossible to write of the Jewish people alone." In this sentence the writer gives an epitome of the history of the Jewish people the world over, wherever freedom of action and civic rights are accorded them.

It is difficult to select any portion of the volume as of especial value where each chapter is valuable, but it is interesting to note, that the question of Sabbath observance, which is still a matter for discussion, was agitated in the early part of last century, as evidenced by a petition for consideration of the claims of those who regarded, and observed, the seventh day instead of the first day of the week as their Sabbath. This petition was signed by Jacob A. Levy and Jacob Ezekiel and presented to the General Assembly of Virginia in February, 1846 (pp. 112-115). The Assembly did not act upon the petition.

An item of peculiar interest also is the opinion held by General Lee, of Lincoln. "News of the assassination was first communicated to General Lee by one Suite, a Washington banker, who knew Lee well. Suite repeated to Hart, General Lee's telling him that when he dispossessed himself of the command of the Confederate army he kept in mind Lincoln's benignity, and he surrendered as much to the President's goodness as to Grant's artillery. He, Lee, deplored Lincoln's death as much as any man in the North, and believed him to be the epitome of magnanimity and good faith" (p. 173).

The volume of almost four hundred pages is well worthy of consideration. Its perusal will afford not only much information but no less food for thought to both Jew and Christian. Though dealing greatly in matters of detail, it is possible that detail has been too much emphasized. Yet the volume will hold the attention not only of anyone directly interested but even of the casual reader. The style is pleasing and a certain dry humor pervades it, to relieve the recitation of sometimes unrelated episodes. The various lists are of especial historic value. They reveal, even more than does the

narrative itself, the vital part that the Jewish people played in the fortunes of both the city and state, in the stirring incidents of war, as well as in the calmer progress of peace, how closely and usefully they identified themselves with the public welfare. These lists comprise names and dates, gathered with evidently infinite patience, from state, municipal, military, congregational and mortuary records, and are the basis upon which the pleasing superstructure of the volume has been built. There is a tendency at the outset to dwell too greatly upon the biographies of the pioneers, giving trifling details of little or no historic value,—but on the whole the volume is well balanced, ably written and attractive.

EDWARD N. CALISCH.

Richmond, Va.

A SHORT HISTORY OF SCIENCE. By W. T. Sedgwick and H. W. Tyler. With illustrations and maps. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1917,—xiv, 474 pp. \$2.50 net.

We have here a brief, yet comprehensive and masterful, account of the evolution of human thought, or at least so much of it as is involved in mathematics and the so-called natural sciences. Moreover, an examination of this work will go a long way toward convincing an open-minded reader of the essential truth in Du Bois Reymond's conclusion that "The history of science is the real history of mankind."

Beginning with the simplest concepts of number common to primitive peoples, the progress of organized thinking is traced through its earliest phases in ancient Egypt, Phoenicia, Babylon, and Assyria into the highly developed cosmogony of the Greeks. As did art and literature, so science received a mighty impetus from the genius of this wonderful people typified in the contributions of Hippocrates, "Father of Medicine," Aristotle, "Master of those who know," and Archimedes, in whom ancient mathematics had its culmination. From that time on through the "dark ages," with few exceptions, as for example Pliny (23-79, A. D.), Galen (*circa* 130 A. D.), Roger Bacon (1214-1298), there is no commanding figure until well into the sixteenth century, when, as a legitimate fruitage of the founding of the great universities, we come rather suddenly

upon a group of intellectual giants—Copernicus, Vesalius, Francis Bacon, Galileo, Kepler, and William Harvey. From that period, the refinements of modern mathematics and the marvelous achievements of the highly diversified natural sciences become far too detailed, varied, and intricate to be even merely suggested here. But, altogether, we are brought to a position from which we may "regard the study of evolution as that of a single great problem, beginning with the origin of the stars in the nebulae, and culminating in these difficult and complex sciences that endeavor to account, not merely for the phenomena of life, but for the laws which control a society of human beings."

Excerpts, somewhat longer than the very numerous ones occurring in the body of the text, taken from the works of the more significant men from Hippocrates to Lyell are appended. Still another appendix epitomizes the important inventions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. A helpful synoptic view of the chief names, events and dates in the history of science in parallel with contemporaneous names, events and dates in general history and literature is also added. Finally a fairly comprehensive bibliography is given in addition to the references for reading at the end of each chapter.

Somewhat incidentally in the body of the text the ancient conflict between science and religion is touched upon. Instances are also numerous both in the authors' own account and in the quotations from original sources that testify to the difficulties that beset the independent thinker. "Of the famous controversy of Galileo with the Inquisition, it may here suffice to quote the judgment of the court: 'The proposition that the sun is in the center of the world [universe] and unmovable from its place is absurd, philosophically false and formally heretical; because it is expressly contrary to the Holy Scriptures, etc.'"

"The Lutheran church was no more hospitable than the Roman Catholic to scientific novelty and Luther himself called Copernicus a fool."

On the other hand, as is becoming in an impartial history, it is clearly shown that churchmen have no monopoly in minds barricaded against new truth—as witnesseth the following from Francis Bacon: "In the system of Copernicus there are

many and grave difficulties: for the three-fold motion with which he encumbers the earth is a serious inconvenience, and the separation of the sun from the planets, with which he has so many affections in common, is likewise a harsh step; and the introduction of so many immovable bodies into nature, as when he makes the sun and stars immovable, and some other things which he assumes are proceedings which mark a man who thinks nothing of introducing fictions of any kind into nature, provided his calculations turn out well."

If criticism must be made where there is so much of excellence, it may perhaps be fairly objected that more contributions and contributors are included than can be discussed, within the limits of the volume, in a manner to grip the attention of the general reader. For other than the specialist, much of the matter is presented in rather too bare an outline.

The difficulty, however, is inherent in the choice of plan. Manifestly it is impossible to write at one and the same time a popular history of science and one that is both scholarly and comprehensive. The authors have chosen the latter plan and in so doing have produced a volume of very great value to workers in science as well as to all others intelligently interested in the history of human progress.

JAS. J. WOLFE.

THE CREAM OF THE JEST. By James Branch Cabell. New York: Robert M. McBride & Company, 1917,—280 pp.

Sympathetic readers of Mr. James Branch Cabell's works are not surprised to find in a new one striking originality in diction, style, and plot; they rather expect marked individuality in all these elements of his writings. "The Cream of the Jest," his latest novel, will, however, because of its almost fantastic plot, appeal to a very limited number of readers and certainly can never become popular. And yet this work, like all his others, bears unmistakable evidence of remarkable literary powers; it makes us look forward with confidence to far greater things from its author.

The plot of the novel is far from trivial, as its name might suggest; and in spite of a good bit of "dream-stuff" and hocus pocus, such as the influence of the so-called sigil, weird jour-

neys into remote nooks and crannies of ancient history, questionable psychological analyses of moods and fates, the theme is by no means borrowed from the misty realms of the spirit world. In the form of a rather obscure parable, the intellectual and spiritual life of a seemingly commonplace man, made to represent humanity, is portrayed by the author with the effort to make plain the fact that "it rests within the power of each of us to awaken at will from a dragging nightmare of life made up of unimportant tasks and tedious, useless little habits, to see life as it really is, and to rejoice in its exquisite wonderfulness." This unengaging, commonplace, and, at times, contemptible Felix Kennaston, holding it as "the immutable law, the cream of the jest, that man has nothing to do with certainties," cared only for his dreams; and devoting himself unreservedly and singly to his dreams, made of "his existence a pageant of beauty and nobility." In this very contradiction lies the cream of the jest.

W. H. WANNAMAKER.

PHYSICAL CHEMISTRY OF VITAL PHENOMENA. By J. F. McClendon. Princeton University Press, 1917,—viii, 240 pp. \$2.00 net.

The author of this interesting contribution to biology evidently does not belong to the school of "Vitalists", which school postulates a vital force different from the forces which are commonly called physical and chemical. He belongs rather to the school of biologists which attempts to relate life-processes to the known laws of the physical sciences. This point of view is distasteful to many biologists who see clearly that such a viewpoint would place the biological sciences as branches of the physical sciences.

The book approaches the problems of biology and its companion, medicine, from a new angle. It will be found intensely interesting to students in the biological sciences, on account of the concise and clear descriptions of the methods which are commonly called "physical chemistry." These methods seem to offer possible solutions to many physiological problems. The familiarity of the author with his subject, biology, as evidenced by many examples cited therefrom, and the clearness and di-

rectness of his style contribute to the sustained interest of the reader, who may not be familiar with both biology and physical chemistry. The numerous suggestions of new experimental work in this field which must occur to every reader, evidence the success which the author has had in the presentation of the subject.

JAMES M. BELL.

University of North Carolina.

THE LIFE OF ROBERT E. LEE. FOR BOYS AND GIRLS. By J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton and Mary Thompson Hamilton. With illustrations. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1917, —xv, 209 pp. \$1.25 net.

Professor and Mrs. Hamilton are very modest in the words with which they introduce their Life of Lee to the public. They say that the work "makes no claim to any great addition to the sum of knowledge in relation to Lee," and that "It is in the main drawn from secondary sources, but a good deal of material touching upon Lee's life is included which appears in no other of his biographies." The book is written "with the hope that through it the life and character of Lee may become more real to the generation of young Americans now growing up," and the authors have dedicated it to the young people of their own fireside.

A careful reading reveals a biography which should be just as valuable to grown men and women as to young people. Some pages seem rather mature for "boys and girls." But the book is written throughout with simplicity and sustained interest. It succeeds well in portraying the background of Lee's home and family life and in conveying the powerful appeal of Lee's noble and inspiring character. The extracts from Lee's letters are happily chosen.

The new biography is written in a spirit of intimate understanding of the South. But it is throughout a product of trained scholarship and fair-minded judgment. Northern leaders and soldiers receive generous admiration and appreciation. The authors rejoice that today the nation is united.

One of the most striking things to a present reader of the book is the contrast between war as Lee conducted it and the

much more horrible way in which it is being conducted in Belgium, France and other ravaged countries of Europe. Imagine a German general expressing concern for the safety of the inhabitants—especially the women and children—of a hostile town during a bombardment, as Lee did during the Mexican war, or issuing orders to troops so humane and regardful of private property and persons as those issued by Lee at Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, on June 27, 1863!

This admirable short biography of Lee deserves a host of readers.

CAMPAIGNS AND INTERVALS. By Jean Giraudoux. Translated by Elizabeth S. Sergeant. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1918,—273 pp. \$1.50 net.

SERBIA CRUCIFIED. By Lieutenant Milutin Krunich. With the Aid in English Idiom of Leah Marie Bruce. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1918,—305 pp. \$1.50 net.

Lieutenant Jean Giraudoux, one of the French officers who came to the United States to assist the Harvard University Reserve Officers' Training Corps, was before the war a writer of experience who had won recognition in literary pursuits. In one of the most interesting of the war books, he has recorded, in a series of sketches of high literary quality, the impressions made upon a cultivated and imaginative mind by many and varied experiences in actual service. Americans have heard little about the early invasion of Alsace by the French. Under the title "The First War," Lieutenant Giraudoux pictures scenes of the first rush of French regiments into the lost provinces with a light and humorous touch, which at times verges upon the pathetic. This part of his work tells more of human nature than of warfare. More warlike, but also intensely human and flavored with many a bit of humor, is the account of the ever memorable "Five Nights, Five Dawns on the Marne." Lieutenant Giraudoux also writes of days in Portugal and at the Dardanelles, and, by contrast, of May on Lake Asquam in New Hampshire.

More painful to read is Lieutenant Milutin Krunich's book on the tragedy of "Serbia Crucified." Two of these chapters are reprinted from the *Atlantic Monthly*. It is a sad story of

a brave people fighting grimly to their utmost and overwhelmed by superiority of numbers and guns. Some of the descriptions of the death struggles of the dying nation are terrible in the extreme. Though the agonies that have been suffered are irreparable, readers will live in hope that Allied victory may in some happier day bring a time of resurrection to the crucified nation.

DISASTERS AND THE AMERICAN RED CROSS IN DISASTER RELIEF. By J. Byron Deacon. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1918.—230 pp. Price, \$75.

This work is the first comprehensive account from the original documents of the experience of the American Red Cross in disaster relief. It contains chapters on disasters at sea, coal mine disasters, floods, fires and tornadoes. The aim of the work is to make clear the principles of most efficient organization for dealing with the problems involved in calamitous loss of life and property. Fortunately, the last proof sheets of the book were being corrected when the recent Halifax disaster occurred, and the members of the Canadian Commission appointed to take charge of the rehabilitation of the city were able to consult the proofs before the book was printed.

The volume will doubtless be useful in connection with the work for refugees in Europe. The principles and methods which it describes apply quite as well in the devastated towns of Belgium, France, and other European countries as in flood or mine disasters in America. Our country may well be proud of the work that has already been done along this line by the Red Cross to relieve distress in the war-stricken countries of Europe.

NOTES AND NEWS

The trustees of the John F. Slater fund have recently published their "Proceedings and Reports" for the year ending September 30, 1917. The pamphlet contains much valuable information regarding the resources and work of the many colleges and schools for the negro race which are assisted by appropriations from the Slater fund. The appropriations to be made for such assistance during the year 1917-1918 amount to \$74,500.

Among the recent publications of the General Education Board are an essay entitled "Latin and the A. B. Degree," by Dr. Charles W. Eliot, and a paper on "The Worth of Ancient Literature to the Modern World," by Viscount Bryce. Dr. Eliot's essay is a study of the actual practice in American colleges and universities in the matter of Latin and Greek requirements for the degree of A. B. An appendix presents a tabulation of the facts for seventy-six colleges and universities. The argument is against the compulsory study of Latin, under the conditions of today, by students of American colleges. Viscount Bryce's paper is an able presentation of the claims of the classics and of the benefits received from a study of the ancient world as it speaks to us through its great writers. However, he does not urge the study of the ancient languages in the case of those who show no aptitude for them. Rather he would have better methods devised whereby that study shall be made more profitable for the best minds. General Education Board, 61 Broadway, New York City.

Dr. Edwin Mims, professor of English in Vanderbilt University, has recently prepared a useful syllabus on "American Ideals in American Literature." The text and references in this syllabus deal with the following topics: "Sectionalism and Provincialism in American Literature," "The Triumph of the National Spirit," "Interpreters of Freedom and Democracy," and "American Ideals of Education and Culture." The syllabus

bus was used in connection with a seminar in literature at the University of North Carolina in December, 1917, and is published in the University of North Carolina series of extension leaflets.

The University of Chicago is publishing a series of war papers consisting of four numbers, each of which is sold by the University of Chicago press at the modest price of five cents. The subjects and authors are as follows: "The Threat of German World-Politics," by Harry Pratt Judson; "Americans and the World-Crisis," by Albion W. Small; "Democracy the Basis for World-Order," by Frederick D. Bramhall, and "Sixteen Causes of War," by Andrew C. McLaughlin. Pamphleteering of this sort is a valuable and patriotic service to the government and the community.

A recent number of the University of Iowa monographs is "Social Surveys of Three Rural Townships in Iowa," by Dr. Paul S. Peirce. This monograph was prepared by Dr. Peirce in coöperation with students who were engaged in gathering the detailed facts. It affords a suggestive view of economic conditions, the character of housing, educational conditions, religious conditions, and other phases of social life in southeastern Iowa. The University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa.

Lovers of the poems of the incomparable Heinrich Heine will welcome the translation of more than three hundred of his finest short poems into English by the well-known poet, Louis Untermeyer. While it is of course impossible to rival the original in a translation, nevertheless Mr. Untermeyer has displayed wonderful poetic power in his version of many of the most exquisite lyrics of the world. The volume will surely open to many readers a new world of beauty. The book is attractively published by Messrs. Henry Holt and Company.



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SMOOTHEST
TOBACCO



THIS tobacco is a friend just before the exams. You want concentration and you want it bad—*smoke Velvet* and you'll get it! Velvet tobacco—the finest leaf—aged over 2 years—time matures the leaf as nothing else can. Time develops a mellowness and flavor that are rare indeed. There is no bite in Velvet! Fill your pipe with this tobacco—then you will appreciate why we named it "Velvet." At all dealers.

Loggell & Myers Tobacco Co.



"Vantage in"

Yes, it happened only a few years ago—we had made a choice cigarette—purest and finest of tobacco—Fatima Cigarettes.

We decided to first place it on sale in college towns. What happened, you know—a popularity that grew by leaps and bounds and smashes—and today the biggest selling cigarette in the country!

Championship quality!

Plain package—good tobacco—20 times!

*Distinctively
Individual*

Leggett & Myers Tobacco Co.
FATIMA
TURKISH BLEND
CIGARETTES



